

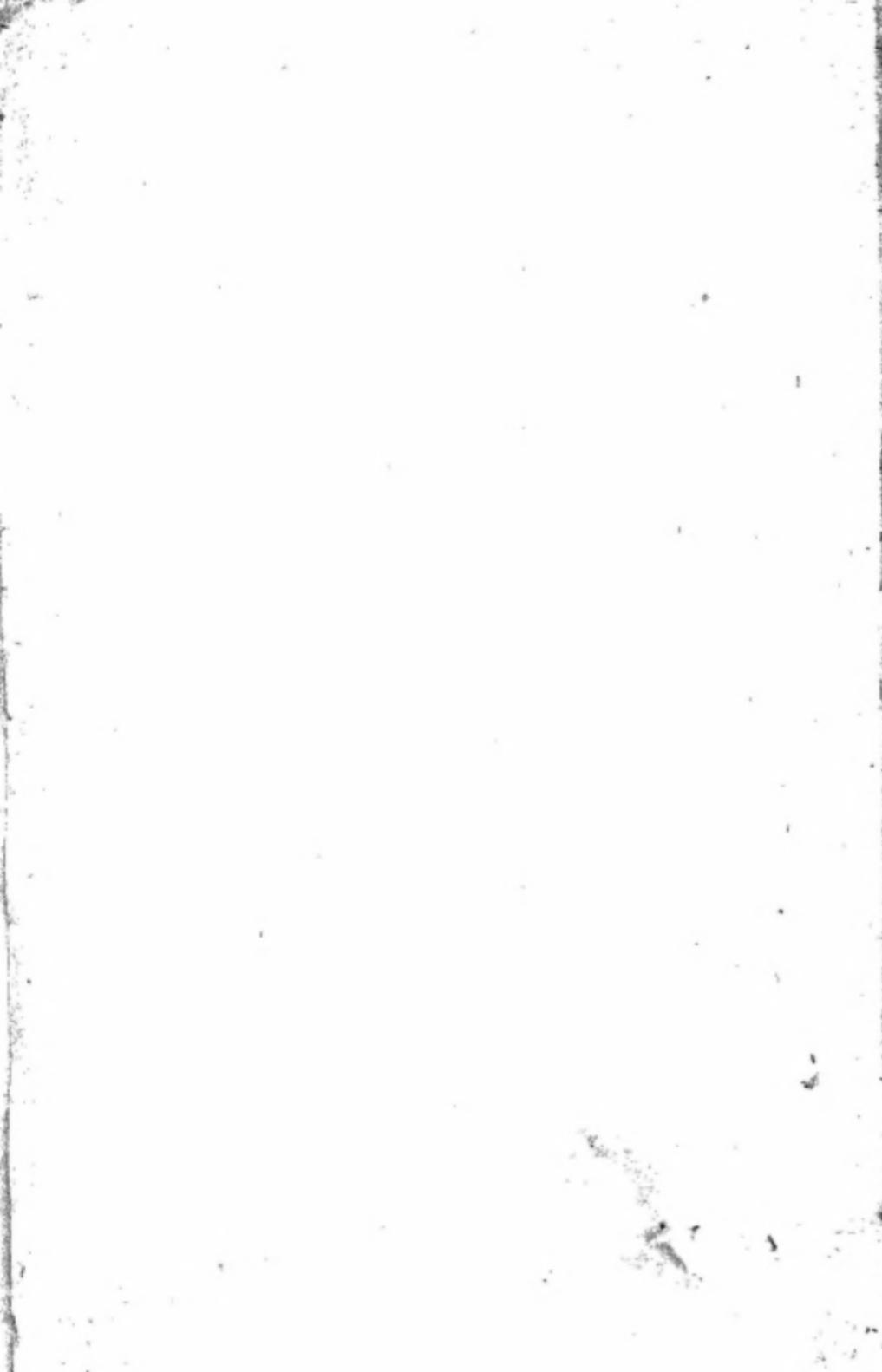
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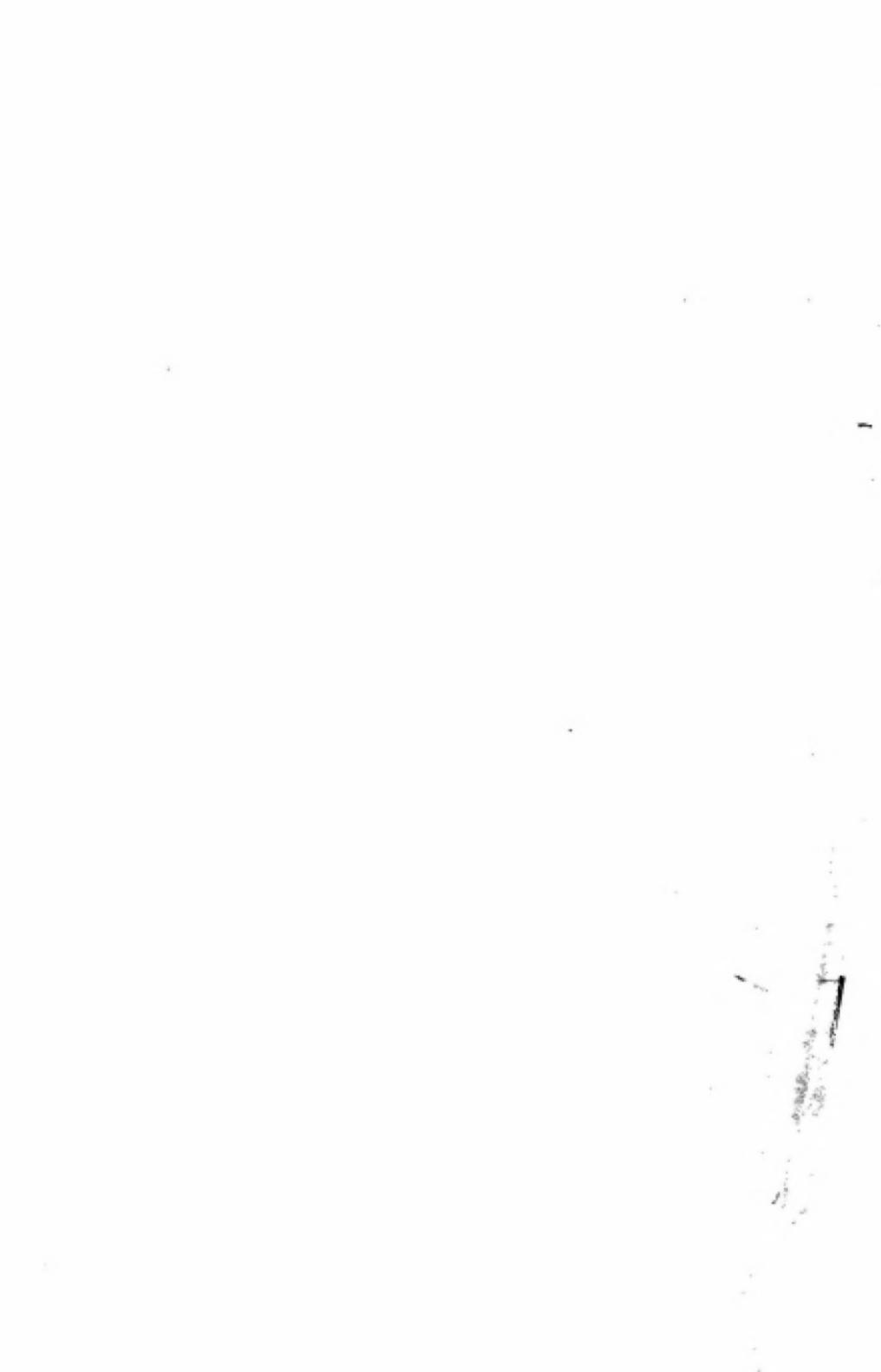
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FOOD AND DRINKS
IN
ANCIENT INDIA



FOOD AND DRINKS IN ANCIENT INDIA

(FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO C. 1200 A.D.)

AN INQUIRY INTO THE HABITS OF ANCIENT INDIANS

by

OM PRAKASH

With a Foreword by

Dr. B. CH. CHHABRA

JOINT DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN INDIA

NEW DELHI

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PREFACE

This monograph on Food and Drinks in Ancient India is mainly a study of the food habits of Indians from the earliest times to C. 1200 A.D. in which I have tried to reconstruct the picture on the basis of all available sources—literary, epigraphic and archaeological. This was originally written as a thesis for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Delhi and later approved by it.

I am profoundly grateful to Dr. V. S. Agrawala, Head of the Department of Indology, Benares Hindu University, who advised me to undertake this work. To my *Itibisaguru*, Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, and my supervisor, Dr. Dasharatha Sharma, I am highly indebted for their kind guidance and advice. I have received help and encouragement from various sources, from colleagues, as well as scholars engaged in research work. Special mention should be made here also of late Dr. P. K. Gode, who ungrudgingly supplied me with all the information I asked for.

Dr. V. S. Agrawala had kindly agreed to write a Foreword to this monograph but unfortunately I could not have the privilege of it on account of his serious illness. When the publication of the book was nearing completion, I approached Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Joint Director-General of Archaeology in India, with a request to write a few words and I am profoundly grateful to him for the favour he has done me by contributing a Foreword to this book.

I am also grateful to Sri L. G. Parab, Librarian, Central Archaeological Library, New Delhi, for kindly allowing me the opportunity to consult the books on the subject in his Library. To my Publishers, Messrs Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, my thanks are due for the great interest they have taken in the book and the nice style in which they have brought it out. I have also received the fullest co-operation from the Printers, The Allahabad Law Journal Press Ltd., Allahabad.

Finally, I would be failing in my duty if I did not acknow-

ledge the constant encouragement and inspiration which I received from my father Sri Durga Prasad whose saintly life of self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause of education will always serve as a guiding star to me.

KIRORIMAL COLLEGE,
DELHI UNIVERSITY

OM PRAKASH

FOREWORD

The most obvious is least noticed. Eyes refuse to see the nearest. In history, one is prone to probe into weighty problems concerning rise and fall of empires, wars and treaties between nations, policies and principles behind constitutions, and the like. Ordinary events are taken for granted. They are often brushed aside as something unworthy of serious attention.

'Food is life' अत्मं वै प्राणः expound the *Upanisads*, and 'All actions stem from food' सर्वरस्मा भोदन-प्रस्थ-मूलः says an adage; but how often does one think of what gives life and activates, in terms of history or even otherwise?

Old and narrow conception of history having given place to a new and all-embracing one, historians of today are venturing upon untrodden fields and are bringing into limelight what hitherto lay dim and obscure, thereby broadening knowledge and enriching history. The present disquisition of Dr. Om Prakash is indeed a venture of that description.

He confines his enquiry to *Food and Drinks in Ancient India* and goes as far back as the material available could take him. Life on earth began with hunt for food, and continues as such, with endless variety and variation that certainly make a *history* worth studying.

Dr. Om Prakash has presented the results of his limited but intensive investigation in a very readable manner. He has marshalled the data in a way at once instructive and interesting. The proof of the pudding lies in the eating : the reader is invited to eat it.

B. CH. CHHABRA

NEW DELHI,
Thursday, June 22, 1961.

Joint Director-General of Archaeology
in India, New Delhi.

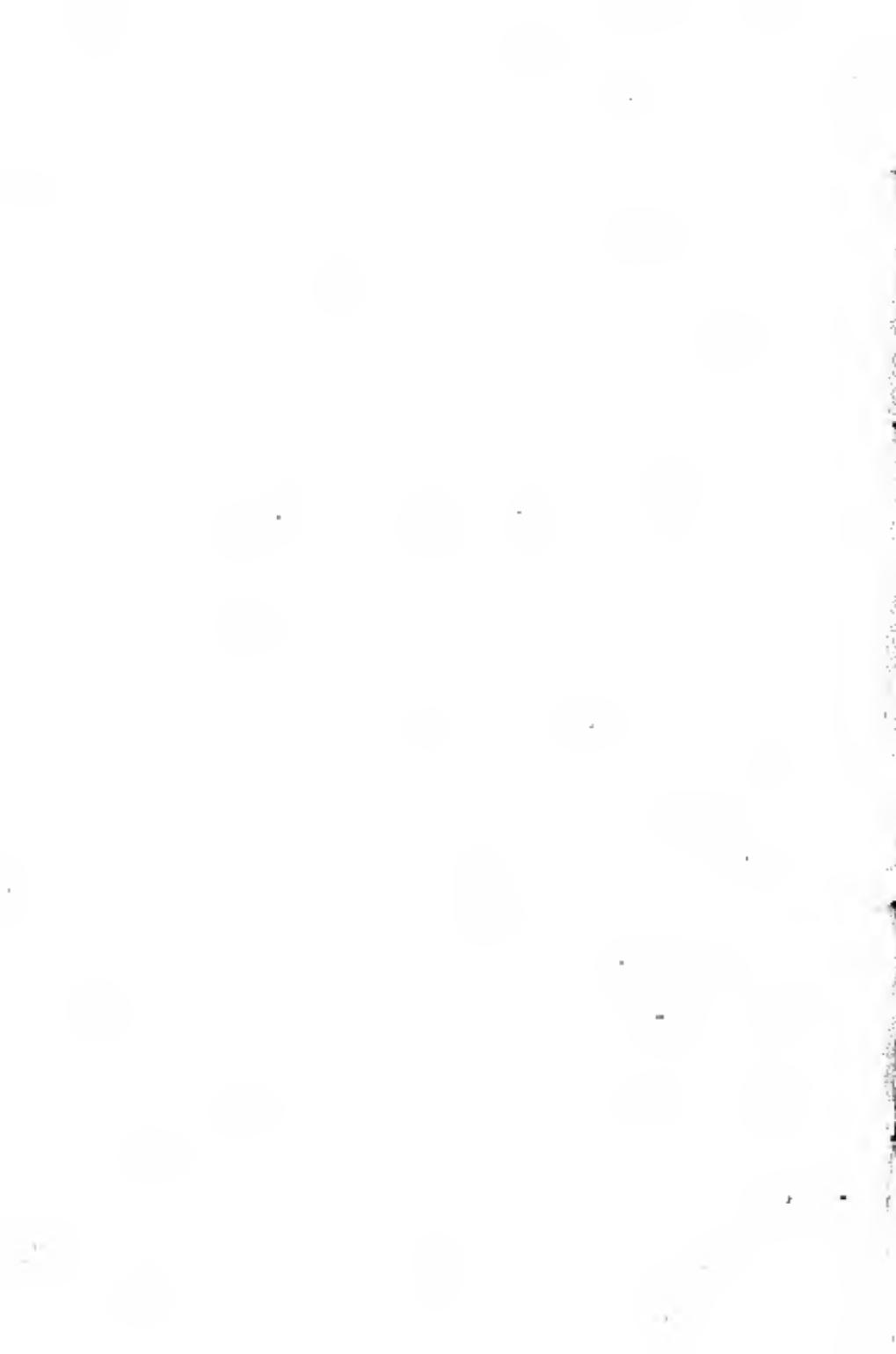


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SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.O.R.I. . .	Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
Aca. . .	Ācārāṅga Sūtra
Ait. Ar. . .	Aitareya Āraṇyaka
Ait. Br. . .	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
Amar. . .	Amarakośa
Angv. . .	Āṅgavijjā
Ang. . .	Āṅguttaranikāya
Antagadadasao.	Antakṛtadasāṅga
Ap. Dh. Su. . .	Apastamba Dharma Sūtra
Ap. Gr. Su. . .	Apastamba Gṛhya Sūtra
Ap. Sm. . .	Apastamba Smṛti
Ap. Sr. Su. . .	Apastamba Śrauta Sūtra
Arch. . .	Archaeological
A.S.S. . .	Anandāśrama Sanskrit Series
Ast. Hrd. . .	Āṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya
Ast. Saṁ. . .	Āṣṭāṅga Saṅgraha
Asv. Gr. Su. . .	Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
Asv. Sm. . .	Āśvalāyana Smṛti
Asv. Sr. Su. . .	Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra
Av. . .	Atharvaveda
Av. Cu. . .	Āvāśyaka Sūtra Cūrṇi
Batua. . .	Āśoka and his Inscriptions
Baud. Gr. Sesa. Su. . .	Baudhāyana Gṛhya Śeṣa Sūtra
Baud. Gr. Su. . .	Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
Bhagavat . . .	Bhāgavata Purāṇa
Bhag. . .	Bhagavati Sūtra
Bharata . . .	Nātyaśāstra
Bhavi. . .	Bhavisayatta Kāhā
Bhela . . .	Bhela Saṁhitā
Bhikkhu Pati. . .	Bhikkhu Pātimokkha
Bhikkhuni Pati. . .	Bhikkhuni Pātimokkha
Bra. . .	Brāhmaṇa
Bṛhatk. . .	Bṛhatkalpa Sūtra

Bṛhatk. Bha.	..	Bṛhatkalpa Sūtra Bhāṣya
Bṛh. Up.	..	Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad
Caraka.	..	Caraka Saṃhitā
Chand. Up.	..	Chāndogya Upaniṣad
C.I.I.	..	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
C.S.S.	..	Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares
Culla.	..	Cullavagga
Dasv.	..	Daśavaikālīka Sūtra
Dhamma.	..	Dhammapada
Dh. Su.	..	Dharma Sūtra
Dicy. of Eco. Pro- ducts of India	..	Dictionary of Economic Products of India by Watt
Digh.	..	Dīghanikāya
Div.	..	Divyāvadāna
F.D.A.I.	..	Food and Drinks in Ancient India
f.n.	..	footnote
Gaut. Dh. Su.	..	Gautama Dharma Sūtra
Gaut Sm.	..	Gautama Smṛti
Gobh. Gr. Su.	..	Gobhila Ḍṛhya Sūtra
G.O.S.	..	Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda
Gr. Su. (H)	..	Grhya Sūtra (Hindi Translation)
Harappa.	..	Excavations at Harappa by M.S. Vats.
Hiran. Gr. Su.	..	Hiranyakāśi Ḍṛhya Sūtra
H.I.L.	..	History of Indian Literature
Harṣa	..	Harṣacarita
I.H.Q.	..	Indian Historical Quarterly
Itsing	..	I-tsing by Takakūsu
J.	..	Jātakas by Fausboll
Jaim. Bra.	..	Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa
Jambu.	..	Jambudvīpa Prajñapti
J.C. Jain	..	Ancient India as described in Jain Canon
Jaim. Up. Bra.	..	Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa
Jiva.	..	Jivajīvābhigama by Vātsyāyana
Kama.	..	Kāma-sūtra
Kāmandaka	..	Nītiśāstra
Kāśyapa	..	Kāśyapa Saṃhitā
Kāṭh. Saṃ	..	Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā
Katy. Gr. Su.	..	Kātyāyana Ḍṛhya Sūtra
Katy. Sr. Su.	..	Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra

Kaus. Bra.	..	Kauṣītakī Brāhmaṇa
Kaut.	..	Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra
Kav. Mim.	..	Kāvya Mīmāṃsā
Kh. Gr. Su.	..	Khadira Ghya Sūtra
Kielhorn	..	Mahābhāṣya
Kirat.	..	Kirātārjunīya
Kumar	..	Kumātāsambhava
Kurma	..	Kūrma Purāṇa
Latya. Sr. Su.	..	Lātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra
Legge	..	Fa-hien's record of Buddhist kingdoms
Mackay	..	Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro
Majjhim	..	Majjhima Nikāya
Mait. Sam.	..	Maitrāyanī Samhitā
Malavika.	..	Mālavikāgnimitra
Manas.	..	Mānasollāsa
Manav. Gr. Su.	..	Mānava Ghya Sūtra
Manu.	..	Manuśmṛti
Markandeya	..	Mārkandeya Purāṇa
Marshall	..	Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization, by Sir John Marshall
Matsya.	..	Matsya Purāṇa
Mbh.	..	Mahābhārata
Adi.	..	Ādi Parva
Anu.	..	Anuśāsana Parva
Āstrama	..	Āśramavāsi Parva
Asv.	..	Āśvamedha Parva
Karna.	..	Karṇa Parva
Maus.	..	Mausala Parva
Sabha.	..	Sabbhā Parva
Salya.	..	Salya Parva
Santi.	..	Sānti Parva
Udyoga	..	Udyoga Parva
Van.	..	Vana Parva
Virat.	..	Virāṭa Parva
Milind.	..	Milindapanha
Mmk.	..	Arya Manjuśrimūlakalpa, ed. Ganapati Sāstri
Mrch.	..	Mṛcchakaṭikā
M.S.V.	..	Mula Sarvastivada Vinaya, Gilgit MSS., Ed. Nalinakṣa Dutt

Mv.	..	..	Mahāvagga
Naisadha.	..	..	Naiṣadha Carita
Naya.	..	..	Jñātādharmakathāṅga
Newlight	..	..	New Light on the most Ancient East, by V.G. Gordon
Nisi.	..	..	Niśītha Sūtra
Pac.	..	..	Pācittiya
Pan.	..	..	Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyi
Panc. Bra.	..	..	Pañcavīchśa Brāhmaṇa
Panini.	..	..	Aṣṭādhyāyi
Panini (H)	..	..	Pāṇini Kālīna Bhārata by V.S. Agrawal
Panna.	..	..	Prajñāpanā Sūtra
Par. Gr. Su.	..	..	Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra
Patanjali	..	..	Mahābhāṣya
Piggot	..	..	Prehistoric India by Stuart Piggot
Pinda Nit.	..	..	Pīṇḍa Nirvukti
P.O.	..	..	Poona Orientalist
Pu.	..	..	Purīṇa
Q.J.M.S.	..	..	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society
Raghu.	..	..	Raghuvamśa
Rama.	..	..	Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki
Aran.	..	..	Aranya Kāṇḍa
Ay.	..	..	Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa
Bal.	..	..	Bāla Kāṇḍa
Kisk.	..	..	Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa
Sundara.	..	..	Sundara Kāṇḍa
Uttar.	..	..	Uttara Kāṇḍa
Yuddha.	..	..	Yuddha Kāṇḍa
Raya.	..	..	Rāyapaseṇaiya Sutta
Rv.	..	..	R̥gveda
Sabara	..	..	Sabara Bhāṣya on Jaimini
Sad. Bra.	..	..	Ṣaḍvīṁśa Brāhmaṇa
Sakuntala	..	..	Abhijñāna Sākuntalam
Sam.	..	..	Saṁhitā
Samyutta	..	..	Samyutta Nikāya
Sankh. Ar.	..	..	Sāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka
Sankh. Gr. Su.	..	..	Sāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
Sankh. Sm.	..	..	Sāṅkhāyana Smṛti
Sankh. Sr. Su.	..	..	Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra

Sat. Bra.	..	..	Satapatha Brāhmaṇa
S.B.B.	..	..	Sacred Books of the Buddhists
Sm.	..	..	Smṛti.
Sr. Su.	..	..	Śrauta Sūtra
Sukra	..	..	Sukranitisāra
Susnūta.	..	..	Suśnūta Saṃhitā
Suṣeṇa	..	..	Anna Pāṇa Vidyā
Sutra	..	..	Sūtra Kṛtāṅga Sūtra
Sutt. Np.	..	..	Suttanipāta
Tait. Bra.	..	..	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
Tait. Sam.	..	..	Taittirīya Saṃhitā
Tait. Up.	..	..	Taittirīya Upaniṣad
Tandula	..	..	Tandula Vaikālika Sūtra
Tha.	..	..	Sthāṇaṅga Sūtra
Thera G.	..	..	Thera Gāthā
Ti.	..	..	Tikā (Commentary)
Uttara.	..	..	Uttarādhyayana Sūtra
Uttaracarita	..	..	Uttarārāmacarita of Bhāvabhūti
Uva.	..	..	Upāsaka Daśāṅga
Vag. I	..	..	Aṣṭāṅga Saṃgraha
Vag. II	..	..	Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya
Vaijayanī	..	..	A lexicon by Yādavaprakāśa
Vaikh.	..	..	Vaikhāṇasa Smṛta Sūtra
Vaj. Sam.	..	..	Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā
Vas. Dh. Su.	..	..	Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra
Vayu	..	..	Vāyu Purāṇa
Ved. Ind.	..	..	Vedic Index
Vilasavati	..	..	Vilāsavatikathā
Vimana.	..	..	Vimānavatthu
Vin.	..	..	Vinayapiṭaka
Vipaka.	..	..	Vipāka Sūtra
Viṣṇu. Dh. Pu.	..	..	Viṣṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa
Viṣṇu. Dh. Su.	..	..	Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra
Vv.	..	..	Vimānavatthu, P.T.S. 1886
Wheeler	..	..	Indus Civilization by R.E.M. Wheeler in Cambridge History Supplement
Winternitz.	..	..	A History of Indian Literature
Yaj.	..	..	Yājñavalkya Smṛti

INTRODUCTION

Of the three primary needs of an individual, food, clothing and shelter, food occupies the most important place. In the early stages of civilization man was essentially a food gatherer and lived on the flesh of animals he killed and the wild roots, fruits and flowers which he gathered. But later, making use of his superior intelligence, he began to tame wild animals and raise crops. This was a great step forward in solving the ever present problem of food. With the advancement in civilization he began to improve his food both with regard to its taste and its nutritive value. Complexities of life led to complexities of food. Man began to prepare delicious dishes by intermixture of various articles of food and by cooking them in different ways. He began also to bring together articles of food from distant lands, if he could afford them.

Ancient Indians cared for the spiritual advancement of the people but they were not averse to worldly enjoyments. They wanted to maintain a harmonious balance between the different aspects of life. They fully realized that they could not fulfil their other worldly (*paralankika*) duties unless they had the minimum of the necessities of life in this world. It was this outlook on life which made them attach considerable importance to the matter of food.

In the Upaniṣads it is stated that it is food which enables a man to use all his faculties.¹ Purity of thought, according to these sages, depends on purity of food. Purity of thought leads, to good memory, and when memory does not fail all the knots which bind a man to this world are loosened.² Food is called a

¹ अथान्नस्य इष्टाभवति, योता भवति, मन्ता भवति, बोद्धाभवति, कर्तभवति, विज्ञता भवति, अप्तमुपास्वेति ।

Chand. Up. VII. 9.1.

² आहार शुद्धी सत्त्वशुद्धिः सत्त्वशुद्धी धूवासमृतिः, स्मृतिजन्म सुवैशालीनं विप्रमोक्षः ।
Chand. Up. VII. 26.3.

panacea because all creatures depend on it.¹ In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad we find that Svetaketu's father cut off all food to his son except water to show that all knowledge disappears when one is not permitted to take food.² These sages believed that the mental make up of a child depended considerably on the type of food which a mother took during the period of pregnancy. With that aim in view different dishes were prescribed for an expectant mother according to the type of the child the parents wished to rear.³ Similarly different food preparations were prescribed for different types of children in the Gṛhyasūtras, at the time of the first feeding of a child.⁴

The organisers of the Buddhist and the Jain churches also realised the importance of food and laid down explicit rules as to what should be eaten and what should be avoided. The Jains, for example, believed that rich food would make a man neglect his spiritual duties and, therefore, prescribed coarse food for Jain monks.⁵ The Sūtras also laid down food suitable for students, widows, hermits and people observing some vow.⁶

Even works on politics like the Arthashastra of Kauṭilya and the writers of the Yaśastilaka and the Mānasollāsa discuss the question of food and drinks at length with relation to health.⁷ Princes of royal blood like Bhīma and Nala were expert cooks.

¹ अत्ताहृते प्रजाः प्रजावन्धे याः काच्च चूचिर्वा वित्ताः प्राणानेत्र वीदन्ति, ग्रन्थं विद्यन्ति, अत्ताहृते याः हि भूतानां व्येष्ट्यन्, तस्मात् वर्षत्यप्यमूल्यते।

Tait. Up. II. 2.

² Chand. Up. VI.

³ अथ य इच्छेत् पुरो मे विद्यतः आयतः सर्वं नायुरियादिति मांसीदनं पाचयित्वा संपिण्णन्तमशनीयातापीयरो जनवित वा भौक्षेण आयतेण वा।

Bṛhad. Up. VI. 4.18.

⁴ आजनशाश कामः। तैत्तिर ऋद्धर्वसाकामः। वृतीदनं लैत्तस्कामः। दशिमधुवृत्तं भित्तमन्त्रं प्राप्तते।

Aśv. Gr. Su. I. 14.2-3.

Cf. Par. Gr. Su. I. 19.7-11.

⁵ See Ch. III, Sec. 2.

⁶ Students—न मधु या से शासनीयात् कारत्वणे च।

Mānas. Gr. Su. I. 1.12.

Widows—ग्रन्थारत्वर्णं भृत्याना।

Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 55.

Hermits—Ap. Dh. Su. II. 9.22.

Observing some vow—Kātyāyana Sr. Su. II. 1.8, Baudh Gr. Su. II.

The belief that the mental make up of the people depended considerably on the food articles which they consume is very well illustrated by a set of verses in the Bhagavadgītā. It classifies food articles into three categories. First category mentions the articles liked by people in whom the divine virtues predominate, the second mentions food liked by passionate people and the third which is liked by people of low tastes.¹ The same book lays down that a person who indulges in overeating or observes too many fasts cannot lead a life of continence. It is only proper food which leads to perfect happiness.²

The medical works clearly state that the physical and mental happiness of individuals depends on the food which they take.³ They, therefore, give a list of those articles which are conducive

¹ शापुः सत्त्वबलारोप्यमुक्तप्रीतिविवर्णनाः ।
रसाः स्त्रिमधा, स्त्रिरा हृदा आहारा चारिकप्रियतः ।८।
कट्टवस्त्र लवणारपूज्ञ तीक्ष्णस्त्रिविदाहिनः ।
आहारा चाचसस्पेष्टा हुक्षशीकभयप्रदाः ।९।
यातयाम गतरसं द्रूति पर्युपितं च वरु ।
उच्चिष्टनपि चामेष्यं शोकनं तामसप्रियम् ।१०।

Gītā. XVII. ८-१०.

² न तत्त्वशनतस्तु योकोस्ति न चैकान्तमनश्नन्तुः ।
न चाति स्वप्नशीलस्तु जाग्रतो नैव चार्जुन ।१६।
युक्ताहारविहारस्तद युक्ताचेष्टस्य कर्मसु ।
युक्तस्वप्नावबोधस्य योगो भवति दुःखहा ।१७।

Gītā. VI. १६-१७.

³ हिताहारोपयोग एक एव पुरुषस्याभिवृद्धिकरो भवति, प्रहिताहारोपयोगः पुनर्व्याधीनां निवित्तमिति ।

Caraka. Su. XXV. ३।

अतश्च सर्वभूताकामाहारः स्थितिकारणम् ।
न रक्षाहारादृतेऽस्त्वयन्त् प्राणिनां प्राणधारणम् ।४।
न चाहारसमं किञ्चिद् भैषज्यमूलम्यते ।
शक्तयैऽप्यप्रमाणेण नरः कर्तुं निराययः ।५।
तुष्टि तुष्टिर्भूतिर्भूदिरक्षाहः पीरवं बलम् ।११।
सौत्वयंमोजस्तेजस्व जीवितं प्रतिभावना ।
आहारादेवजायन्ते एवमायागृणागृणम् ।१२।
तदात्मवान् हितं पितौ काणे भुज्जीतपृष्ठसम् ।

Kāśyapa Sam., p. 249.

प्राणिनां पुनर्नृष्टाहारे बलवणीजसां च, सपटम् रसेष्वायतः, रसाः पुनर्देव्याधिदिकः
द्रव्यरक्षगुण वीर्यविद्याकाविभित्ते च क्षयबुद्धी दोषाणां साम्यं च ।

Susruta. Su. 46.

to health and those which are unsuitable for different people.¹ According to these works the suitability of food stuffs depends on many factors—race, country, time of the year and the physical condition of the individual taking food. A food article may suit a person at one time and may not suit him at another time. The medical works, therefore, prescribe food suitable for different seasons, for the inhabitants of different regions and for the people of different temperaments.² Even in these works good health is considered a means of fulfilling the various aspects of life (*dharma, artha, kāma* and *mokṣa*).³ Even works like *Kāmasātra*, *Smṛtis* and *Purāṇas* lay down what should be eaten and what should not be eaten.⁴ There was a firm belief that a man is what he eats and purity of thought depends on purity of food. Elaborate rules were, therefore, framed to maintain the purity of food. The above facts prove it, beyond doubt, that ancient Indians attached great importance to proper diet of the people.

In the present thesis an attempt has been made to survey the food habits of Indians, particularly those residing in the north, from the earliest times to 1200 A.D. The first chapter deals with the habits of the people inhabiting India in the Paleolithic and Neolithic times. The philological study of words expressing different articles of food in the Pre-Aryan languages and some archaeological finds are our only sources of information for this period. The excavations in the Indus valley region throw some light on the food habits of the people residing in that region.

The second chapter deals with the Vedic period. Our sources for this period are the *Vedas*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Āranyakas* and the *Upaniṣads*. These works are mostly religious in character but provide us with some data about the food articles used by early Aryans as most of the offerings which they made to the gods consisted of the food articles which they themselves used.

¹ *Caraka*, Su. V, *Bhela*, p. 4.

² Seasons—*Caraka*, Su. VI, *Bhela*, p. 25.

Regions—*Kāśyapa*, *Sam. Bhojanakalpa*, p. 46-52.

Bhela, p. 22. *Caraka*, C. 30 & 317.

³ वस्तुर्युक्तासमोक्षात्तामारोग्यं यूक्षाप्रथम्।

Caraka, Su. I.

⁴ *Kāmasātra* 191. d 1, *Vāyu-Pu.* 80-83, *Matysa. Pu.* XV, *Agni Pu.* 162-165, *Kūrma Pu.* II. 17-20. *Manu. Sm.* V and VI, *Yaj. Sm.* I. 171-180.

The third chapter has been divided into two sections. For the first section our chief sources are the *Gṛhya* and the *Srauta Sūtras* as also the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. They present before us the conditions as they existed in the middle country during the period C. 800 B.C. to C. 323 B.C. To form an idea of the food habits of the people during the period in the eastern parts of India the *Jātakas* and the early Buddhist and Jain canonical works have been used. The Jain works in their present form were compiled rather late, perhaps in the 5th century A.D., but they give a true picture of this period as there was little change in the Jain traditions upto that time. An indistinct picture of the food habits of the South Indian people can also be formed by a few references in the early Sangam literature.

The fourth chapter also has been divided into two sections. In the first section an attempt has been made to present a picture of the people in the Maurya period. Our principal sources for this section are the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the edicts of Aśoka and the accounts of Megasthenes and some historians who accompanied Alexander on his Indian invasion. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* shows how the sale of meat was supervised by the government officers and the preparations and sale of intoxicating drinks became a state monopoly. There was wide difference between the food of the rich and the poor. The epics and the *Mānasamṛti* also present a picture of the post Buddhist period but are of uncertain date. They are a mine of information for the social history of the period and depict the changing conditions of the time. No student of social history of ancient India can afford to ignore them. They have, therefore, been used in the second section of this chapter.

In the fifth chapter the conditions as they existed during the period C. 75 A.D. to C. 300 A.D. have been surveyed. During this period the Imperial Kuṣāṇas were the predominant power in the North West India. Our principal sources of information are the medical works of *Caraka* and *Suṣruta*. These works are free from any religious or communal bias and refer to the food habits of the people in all parts of India, both vegetarian and non-vegetarian. There are also some casual references in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali which throw some light on the food habits of the people.

For a study of the food habits of the people in the Gupta Age (300 A.D. to 750 A.D.) which is the period dealt with in the sixth chapter, we have a number of literary works by authors like Kālidāsa, Bāṇa and Daṇḍin. Special mention may be made of the *Āngavijjā* which is a mine of information for the social history of the early Gupta period. Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, the *Amarakośa* and two medical works of this period, the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṅgraha* and the *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya*, supplement this information. Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang also throw some light on the food habits of the people. But their accounts present a picture mainly of the Buddhist section of the society, because they could not come in contact with other sections. The *Purāṇas* and the *Smṛtis* of this period prescribe the articles of food which should be used and which were to be avoided. They are rather conservative in outlook but the literature of the period and paintings of Ajanta reflect a happy and prosperous state of society.

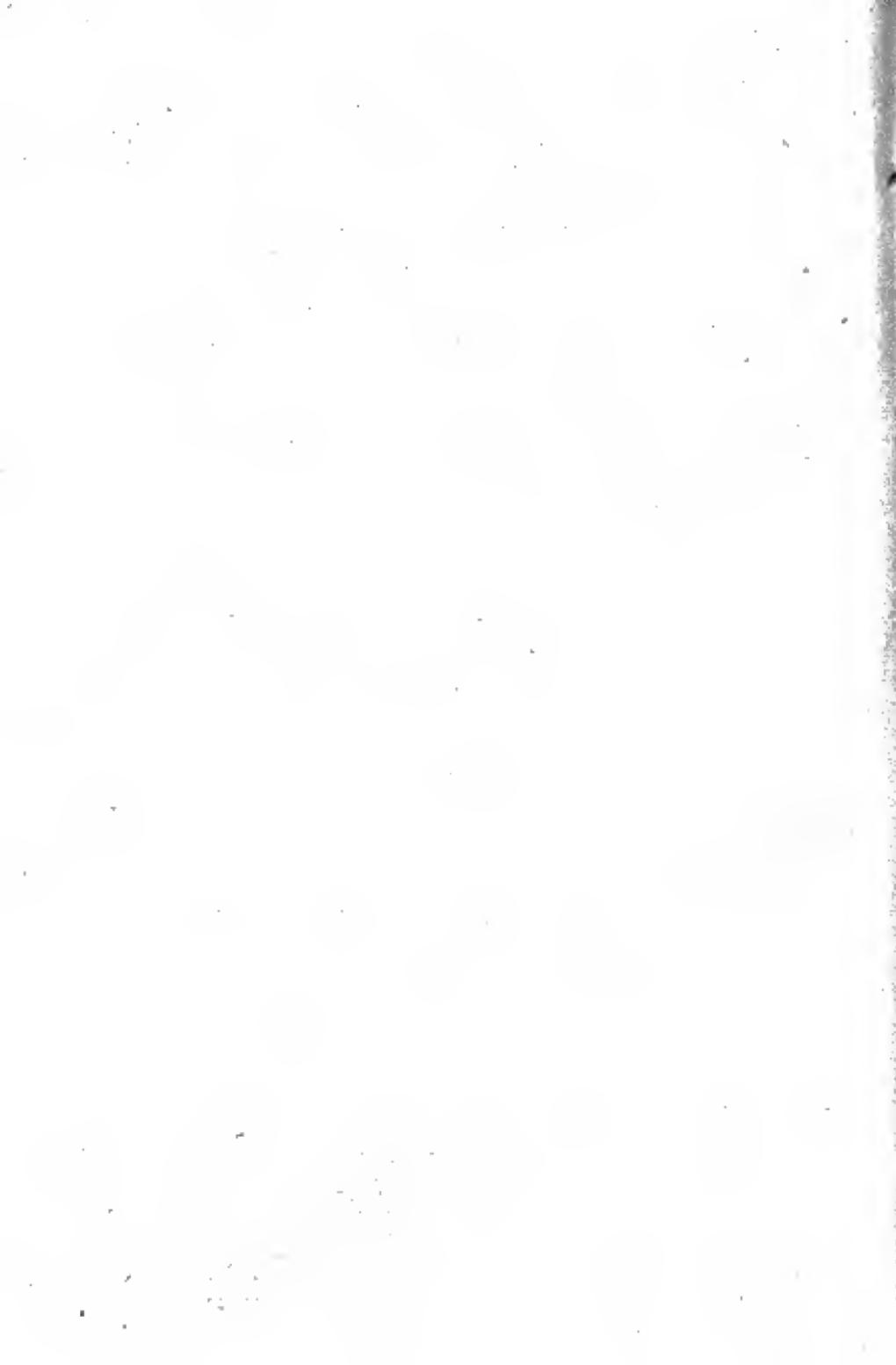
For the next chapter which deals with the conditions as they existed during the period 750—1200 we have a number of literary sources, such as the works of Rājāśekhara, Somadeva and Śrīharṣa. But the chapters on food and drinks in the *Mānasollāsa* are the basic source of information for a study of the food habits of the people during the early part of the 12th century. Some Jain works of the period give an account of feasts where only vegetarian dishes were served. The account of Alberuni has been used with caution because sometimes it was based, not on personal observation, but on a study of the religious works of the Hindus. Wherever it is in conformity with the picture presented in the contemporary literature due weight has been given to his evidence.

In dealing with the subject in each chapter a uniform scheme has been adopted. Food grains and milk products have all along occupied a prominent place in Indian dietary; hence these have been discussed at the beginning of each chapter. Next in importance come the meat preparations, which were used by a considerable section of the society along with vegetarian dishes. Then follows a short account of the spices and oils used for seasoning the various food articles. Sweets and sweetening ingredients such as honey, ghee and sugar come next with a short description of fruits and vegetables used in each period. Towards the end

of the chapter various beverages including intoxicating drinks and water are dealt with. Then follows a short account of the development of culinary art and the cooking utensils used. At the end of each chapter an attempt has been made to make a short survey of the important rules of diet, etiquette and the favourite articles of food in different parts of the country during the period. A glance at these rules proves it beyond doubt that great stress was laid on such virtues as hospitality and great care was taken that the food consumed should be pure. Students, widows, and ascetics were advised to avoid exciting food stuffs. The mass of the people lived on simple and nourishing food. The rich, however, enjoyed dainty dishes.

The concluding chapter tries to present a rapid survey of the striking features in the food habits of ancient Indians in each period. It also tries to throw some light on the important changes* brought about in the food habits and the probable causes—religious, political, geographical or economic which brought about such changes. The chief characteristic of the Indian civilization is its spirit of synthesis. It has all along adapted itself to the new forces; and the same spirit of synthesis is discernible in the food habits of the people which have altered with the changing conditions. But the process of change has all along been gradual.

*The establishment of Muslim rule probably affected the food habits of a few rich people and some new preparations were introduced into our dietary, but the masses continued to relish traditional dishes even as late as the 17th century. This is evident from such works as *Bhojana-Kutubhala* by Raghu-natha who flourished in that century. With the advent of the Europeans some foreign articles of food were included in our dietary. There is no mention of maize, chillies, and tobacco before the Portuguese entered India although some of these articles are used almost in every part of India now.



CHAPTER I

PRE-HISTORIC CIVILISATION OF INDIA

The earliest man every where was essentially a part of the plant and animal life that surrounded him reacting passively to the climate and geographical configuration of the land. But he slowly gained consciousness of the powers and potentialities which distinguished him from other animals and enabled him to dominate over nature rather than remain its slave.

The generally accepted theory is that the earliest inhabitants of India were Negroid in type.¹ Originally they appear to have come from Africa through Arabia and the coastlands of Iran and Baluchistan. They appear to have been food gatherers rather than food producers.² Their food consisted of fruits, nuts and tubers, obtained by the use of stone knives and diggers. Soon they added to their dietary the flesh of animals which they hunted.³ They did not know how to till the soil or raise the food. They probably were unaware of the art of cattle breeding.⁴ They probably spread over South India and even ventured to cross the sea and settled in the Andaman Islands. In India, the Negrito, would appear to have been either killed off by the later immigrants, notably the Proto-Australoids⁵ or absorbed by them.

The Negritos were displaced by the Proto-Australoids.⁶ They probably used a digging stick (*lakanta*, *lagunda*, *linga*, *lañda*) for ploughing.⁷ The terrace cultivation of rice might have originated with these people. The common word for rice, *Chārañ*, in Indo-Aryan languages might be very well connected with the Kol or Mundā root 'Jom' 'to eat'.⁸ The word *lāñdula* (husked

¹ Origin and Spread of the Tamils, p. 5. Racial Elements in the Population. Dr. B. S. Guha.

² The Vedic Age. Ch. VIII, p. 146.

³ Advanced History of India. P.T.S. Iyengar, p. 9.

⁴ Indo-Aryan and Hindi—S.K. Chatterji, p. 12. Prehistoric South India Dikshitar, p. 53.

⁵ The Vedic Age. Ch. VIII, p. 146.

⁶ They are called *Niñjāda* in the Sanskrit literature.

⁷ Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India—P. C. Bagchi.

⁸ The Vedic Age, p. 150.

rice) also seems to be of Austric origin. This leads us to the conclusion that these people probably used rice as the staple food grain.

On the basis of philological studies of Jean Przyluski, Jules Bloch and Sylvan Levi¹ we can say that pumpkin (*alabu*) and brinjal (*vattingana*) were used as vegetables by these people. Their food also included such fruits as banana (*kadali*) and *kandali*), coconut (*Nārikela*), roseapple (*jambū*), pomegranate (*dādima*), dillenia Indica (*Kāmaranga*) and watermelon (*Kalings*).

These people probably used turmeric (*haridrā*), ginger (*Srigavora*), lemonfruit (*nimbuka*) as spices and knew how to prepare mustard (*Sarpaga*) oil and Jaggery (*guḍa*). They used betel leaves (*tāmbilla*) and betelnut (*gnāka*). They do not appear to have been cattle breeders.

The next people to reach India were probably the Dravidians.² On the basis of Dr. J. Burrow's studies of early Dravidian words³ it can be concluded that the food of the early Dravidians consisted of boiled rice (*kīra*), sour rice gruel (*hali*), *kudmāṣa* (a species of *Delichos*) and *varuka* (an inferior food grain). They also used fried barley (*nātja*). Of the pulses (*simbi*) they used *Māṣa*, *Mudga* and *Masāra*. They also prepared round cakes (*natkar*) which they fried in oil or batter. They were also acquainted with shrivelled grain (*Pulāka*). Rice seems to be the staple food grain as several earthenware bowls containing the husk of paddy and bronze bowls with grains of rice have been found at Adicchansal-lur.⁴

They used meat (*avarasa*) as also seasoned meat (*vallīra*). Fish seems to have been another important article of food as a

¹ Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India by P. C. Bagchi.

² On the basis of similarities between the early cultures of the eastern Mediterranean and that of Adichansalur it seems not unlikely that the Dravidians reached India from this part of the world, and the people of the Neolithic stage were the descendants of the Proto-Mediterranean race. When the Aryans came to India they met the *Niyādes* (Proto-Australoids) and the *Dāsas* or *Dāyus* (Dravidians). K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—A History of South India, pp. 34-61.

S. K. Chatterji—Indo-Aryan and Hindi.

S. Piggot—Prehistoric India.

³ Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Research London, 1948, pp. 371-393.

⁴ A History of South India, p. 62 by K. A. Nilakanta, Sastri.

number of netsinkers have been found near the Neolithic sites.¹

They consumed two intoxicating drinks *Ird* and *Masara*. There was found at Cuddapah some Chunam like matter in a *lofa*. It points towards the existence of palm juice industry.² They knew the art of preparing *Gn̄da* and toddy tapping.

Of the fruits and vegetables *Panasa* (jack fruit), *Tundi* (gourd), *patala* (a species of cucumber), *Mulāti* (a kind of edible root) and *Puṇḍarīka* (lotus flower) are mentioned. Spices must have been used in preparing curries as we know that they were exported to Assyria in the 14th century B.C.³ They used *Tulasī* (holy basil), *Ciñcā* (tamarind) and *pīga* (betel nut). The mention of *Tila* (sesama) and *Piryāka* in the vocabulary leads us to the conclusion that these people extracted oil and used it in cooking.

From the archaeological finds of this period⁴ we know that pottery was used for storing water and grains and cooking. Stone mortars, woodenpestles, and stone corn grinders were used. Stone slabs and rollers were probably used in grinding spices and preparing curries.

There have also been found a number of cisterns in which water (*joya*) was stored for drinking.⁵

That the Indus valley was very fertile is clear from the fact that kiln burnt bricks were used in building houses for which unlimited timber was required as fuel.⁶ In the representation art of Harappa the animals shown are such as are found in a fertile region and not in a desert.⁷ The record of chroniclers of Alexander the Great's campaigns suggests that in the 4th century B.C. Sind was still a fertile region.⁸ The very existence of large cities presupposes a considerable agricultural population.⁹ The Russian scientists headed by Vevilov have come to the conclusion

¹ Pre-Historic South India, p. 77 by V. R. R. Diksitar.

² Pre-Historic South India, p. 77, by V. R. R. Diksitar.

³ T. R. Sesha Iyengar. Dravidian India, p. 134.

⁴ P. T. S. Iyengar—Advanced History of India.

⁵ We have not included a discussion of the food habits of the Indus valley people in the food habits of the Dravidians as we are not sure about the authors of this civilization. We shall, therefore, consider in detail the foods and drinks of the Indus Valley people before discussing the food habits of Aryans.

⁶ Stuart Piggot—Prehistoric India (1949), p. 68.

⁷ Ibid., p. 134. Wheeler—The Indus Civilisation, p. 56.

⁸ Ibid., p. 135.

⁹ Ibid., p. 134.

that wheat originated from a centre near the Punjab, the fold between the Hindukush and the Himalayas.¹ It was not of a wild variety but of the same type as is cultivated now-a-days in the Punjab.² It formed the principal article of food of the people inhabiting this region.

Specimens of barley have also been found among the ruins of Mohenjodaro.³ We are not quite sure whether rice was also grown in the Indus Valley even though the people may not have been unfamiliar with it.⁴ At Harappa people also cultivated peas and sesamum.⁵ A species of brassica, modern *Rāti*, was also grown.⁶

The store houses with raised platforms and ventilated floors were probably used as granaries. The circular platforms were used as mortars in which grain was pounded with wooden pestles as in Modern Kashmir. Piggot thinks that the storage of grain at Harappa was part of a government agricultural policy. In the granaries there, flour was prepared by coolie labour which was housed in miserable rows of identically planned two roomed cottages.⁷

Domestic animals in the Harappa culture included the buffalo, goat and sheep.⁸ This means that milk must have formed an important article of food of these people.

The existence of a number of saddle querns with millers suggests that the grains were ground in these as no circular grinding stones have been founded.⁹ A number of rolling pins of pottery and stone have been found at Chanhudaro. This makes us conclude that the little water cakes (*Phulkās* in Hindi) were

¹ R. K. Mookerji—Hindu Civilisation (Supplement).

² Marshall, Vol. I, p. 27. Wheeler, Camb. Hist. Supplement., p. 62. Piggot, p. 153. *Vats*—Harappa, p. 6.

³ Marshall, Vol. I, p. 27. Wheeler, Camb. Hist. Supplement., p. 62. Piggot, p. 153. *Vats*—Harappa, p. 6.

⁴ Childe—New Light, p. 209.

The value of rice grain in Ridgeway's book 'Origin of Currency and Weight standards' is .036 gms. On the basis of weights found in the Indus Valley region Sir John Marshall was inclined to come to the conclusion that rice was also grown. Marshall Vol. II, p. 59.

⁵ *Vats*—Harappa, p. 6. Piggot, p. 153, Wheeler, p. 62.

⁶ Piggot—Prehistoric India, p. 153.

⁷ Piggot—Prehistoric India, p. 155.

⁸ Piggot—Prehistoric India, p. 155.

⁹ Piggot—Prehistoric India, p. 158.

made exactly in the same way as now.¹

That Indus Valley people were meat eaters is evident from the fact that meat was included in the offerings of the dead. The numerous sling balls of clay, the copper fish hooks, the arrow heads, the flying knives constitute sufficient proof of the fact that the inhabitants depended largely for their food on birds, beasts and fish.² Their food comprised beef, mutton, pork and poultry, the flesh of gharials, turtles, and tortoises, fresh local fish from the river and dried fish brought from the sea coast. The bones or shells of all these have been found often in a half burnt state in and around the houses.³

We have sufficient evidence that the Indus valley people consumed fruits. Melon seeds were found at Harappa. A few date stones were found at Mohenjodaro. Two small faience objects from Harappa appear to represent date seeds. Tree forms on the earthenware suggest the existence of cocoanut fruit, pomegranate and banana.⁴ The shape of an ear-ring suggests the existence of lemon fruit. Curries of various kinds were doubtless a favourite food as stones for grinding the necessary spices were quite common.⁵ Existence of a number of dishes also points in the same direction. They were possibly used for keeping spices.

The water supply of Mohenjodaro and Harappa was obtained from excellently constructed wells with brick lining.⁶ Innumerable fragments of mass produced clay cups have been found near the well heads. This makes us conclude that the Indus Valley people followed the modern Hindu practice of throwing away the cups once used for drinking.⁷

Domestic vessels were generally of earthenware of various kinds and shapes. Most of the pottery was wheel made, well fired and plain.⁸ But painted ware have also been found. The designs were executed in black on a dark red slip. There

¹ At Mohenjodaro a circular bread oven 3 ft. 8. ins. in diameter and 3' 6" in height was found which resembles bread ovens still widely used in Asia. Wheeler—Cambridge History Supplement., p. 37.

² Vats. Harappa, p. 6.

³ Marshall, Vol. I. Ch. IV, p. 37.

⁴ Wheeler—Cambridge History Supplement., p. 62.

⁵ Mackay—Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro.

⁶ Piggot.—Prehistoric India, p. 170.

⁷ Piggot.—Prehistoric India, p. 170.

⁸ Marshall Part I, Ch. IV, p. 27.

have been found, bowls, beakers, goblets, dishes, basins, saucers stands and jars. A number of ladles of shell have also been found. Their length, including the handles varies from 2.00" to 7.2 inches. There has also been found an oval cup of shell.¹ Vessels were also made in copper, silver or lead. Copper and bronze were generally used for tools. The flake knife of chert provided with a handle was used for cutting up food.²

These are some facts which we have been able to gather as a result of the labours of the Archaeologist. But we can imagine that many kinds of food preparations and beverages might have been enjoyed by these people as the cities of this region were international trade centres at that time. At least even from the facts that we have it is certain that the basis of our modern food habits lies in those formed by Pre-Aryan races like the Dravidians, Proto-Australoids and Negroids.

¹ Vats Harappa, p. 373.

² Marshall part I, Chap. IV, p. 27.

CHAPTER II

FOOD AND DRINKS IN THE VEDIC PERIOD

Food has great importance for Vedic Indians. It is from food states the Tait. Up. that the people are born. All who live on this earth have to subsist on food. Of all created things food is the most important hence it is called *Sarvauṣadha* or panacea.¹ Elsewhere, one is advised to worship food for it enables a man to use all his faculties.² We are even told that through food comes the end of all ignorance and bondage.³ It is eaten so it is called *Anna* but it is also *Pith* because it provides nutriment.⁴

CEREALS AND PULSES

As now, cereals formed a very important part of Indian food and among cereals the most important place was occupied by barley.⁵ In the Atharvaveda it is called one of the two immortal

¹ अन्नादै प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते याः काश्च पृथिवी ऽ भिताः पथोन्तेऽयं जीवन्ति अर्थनदणि यन्नवन्ततः अन्न ऽ हि भूतातो ज्येष्ठं तस्मात्सर्वं वच्च मृद्यते।

Tait. Up. II. 2.

² भ्रमान्नस्यार्थं द्रव्या भवति श्रोता भवति, मन्ता भवति, दीदा भवति, कर्ता भवति विजाता भवति अन्नमुपासवति।

Chand. Up. VII. 9.1.

³ आहूरसुद्धी सत्वशुद्धिः सत्वशुद्धी भ्रवास्मृतिःः सृति जन्मे तर्वाग्रन्थीतो विप्रमोथः।

Chand. Up. VII. 26.2.

⁴ Rv. I. 61.7, 132.6, 187.1, VI. 20.4 etc. Ved. Ind. L. 526, Kath. Sam. XIII. 15, Vaj. Sam. II. 20, XII. 65. Tait. Sam. V. 7, 2, 4. Av. IV 6.3. Ait. Brā. L. 13. स्वादो एतो मधो पितो वर्यं द्वा ब्रह्महै। अस्माकमवित्ता भव।

Rv. I. 187.2.

Sāyana on Rv. I. 187. 1. पितुम्-पालकममयम्।

Other words used in the sense of food in the Vedic literature are *idṛ* (Rv. III. 1.23), *andibas* (Rv. I. 133.4, Vaj. Sam. III. 20), *paribhasa* (Rv. I. 187.8) and *Ādīra* (Chand. Up. VII. 26.2).

⁵ Rv. I. 23.15, 117.21, 135.8, II. 5.6, 14.11, III. 42.7, V. 85.3, IX. 68. 4, Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 11. Tait. Sam. IV. 7.4., VI. 4. 10, Kath. Sam. XV. 1, Mait. Sam. III. 10.2, IV. 3.2, Av. II. 8.3. VI 30.1. VI. 50.1., 91.1., 141.2, VIII. 7.20, IX. 1.22, 6.14, XII. 1.42.

यत्त्वादत्तं व्रीहियस्ती यस्या इताः पञ्च कुण्डलः।

मूर्खं पर्जन्यपत्त्वै नमोस्तु वर्यमेवते।

Av. XII. 1.42.

sons of heaven i.e. barley and rice.¹ It was ground and formed into cakes² which were dipped into ghee before eating.³ Sweet cakes (*apāpa*) of barley flour were also prepared.⁴ Parched barley⁵ was eaten either whole with *Soma* juice⁶ or ground into meal which was mixed with curds, clarified butter, *Soma* juice, water⁷

¹ दिवस्तुवावमत्वे ।

Av. VIII. 7.20.

सैनावं वा एतदोषधीनां यथवाः ।

Ait. Bra. VIII. 16.

² *Parodāsa*.

Rv. III. 28.1, 41.3, 32.2, IV. 32. 16, VI. 23. 7.

शीर्षिभ्यः पुरोडाशो भवति ।

Mait. Sam. III. 10.2.

पद्मः पिटपिण्डः पुरोडाश इत्युच्चते ।

Sāyaṇa on Ait. Bra. I. 1.2.9.

Pakṣi. Rv. IV. 24.3, 24.7, 25.6, 25.7, VI. 29.4. According to Sāyaṇa and Mahidhara *Pakṣi* means cake but as in the Rv. IV 24.3 both *pakṣi* and *parodāsa* are mentioned in the same hymn it seems unlikely that the two words are synonymous. It seems likely that *pakṣi* was a liquid preparation served after *parodāsa*.

See K. R. Potdar—Sacrifice in the R̄gveda.

प्रादिद्व नेम इत्यियं यजन्त शादित्यकिं तुरोडाशं रिस्त्यात् ।

शादित्यसोमो दि पृथ्यवद् सुवीनात्यिज् जुजोप वृषभं यजन्त्य ।

Rv. IV. 24.3.

³ पुरोडाशावाक्येनाभिवार्तीतो ।

Av. X. 9.23.

⁴ See Sweets, p. 19, f.n. 7.

⁵ *Dāṇḍa* (parched barley) Rv. I. 16.2, III. 35.3, 43.4, 52.3, IV. 24.7, 29.4, VIII. 92.2, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, 22, Kath. Sam. XI. 2, Tait. Sam. VI. 5.11.4, III. 1.10.2, Av. XVIII. 5.69, Tait. Bra. I. 5.11.2, Sat. Bra. IV. 4.3.9, XIII. 2.1.4.

⁶ कृता वाना अत्त्वे ते हरिभ्याम् ।

Rv. III. 35.7.

वानाः करम्भः परिवापः पुरोडाशः यथस्य ।

तेन पर्कुराप्यते तद् यजस्य पाहनतत्त्वम् ।

Tait. Sam. VI. 5.11.4.

वास्ते वाना मनुकिरामि तिलमिश्राः स्वधावर्तीः ।

Av. XVIII. 4.43.

⁷ *Sakha*. (parched barley meal) Rv. X. 71.2, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, Tait. Sam. VI. 4.10.6., Kath. Sam. XV. 2, Sat. Bra. I. 6.3.16, IX. 1.1.8, XII. 9.1.5.

सकुमित्र तिलत्तु तुमन्तोः ।

Rv. X. 71.2.

Karambhā (parched barley meal with curds, clarified butter, *Soma*-juice or water). Rv. I. 187, 10, III. 52.1., VI. 56.1. VIII. 91. 2.3.

Vaj. Sam. XIX. 27, Tait. Sam. III. 1.10.2, VI. 5.11.4, Sat. Bra. II. 5.2.14. IV. 2.4.18., Tait. Bra. I. 5.11.2., Ait. Bra. VIII. 6.

or milk.¹ A gruel was also prepared with barley.² Sometimes a mess of barley was prepared by cooking it in water or milk.³

Wheat is mentioned in all the Samhitās except the R̄gveda.⁴ We find it used in preparing goats⁵ but it may also have been used as a substitute for barley. Its introduction in the Aryan dietary may have been due to their contact with the Dravidians who as we have seen, had been using wheat as far back as 3000 B.C.⁶

We find no definite mention of rice in the R̄gveda⁷ but it

वानाकन्तं करम्भिणश्युपवन्तमुक्तिवनम् ।

Rv. III. 52.1., VIII. 91.3.

दधिमित्रं सक्तुम् करम्भम् ।

Sāyaṇa on Rv. III. 52.1.

यवपिष्टमात्यसंयुतम् ।

Sāyaṇa on Tait. Bra. I. 5.11.2.

करम्भः उदमन्धः ।

Mahidhara on Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21.

¹ वृक्षनो न तिम्मशुद्धीज्ञतमूर्येषु रोक्षत् ।

मत्वस्त इन्द्र शंहृदेष्ये ते सुनोति भावयुविश्वं स्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ।

Rv. X. 86.15.

² *Yāvāgī*—Tait. Sam. VI. 2.5.2., Kath. Sam. XI. 2. Tait. Aran. II. 6.8., Kaus. Bra. IV. 13.

जर्जिलप्यवान्ना वा लक्ष्माद् गर्वीचुक्ष्यवान्ना वा ।

Tait. Sam. V. 4.3.2.

³ Rv. VIII. 69.14. विश्वेत्ता विष्णुराभरुहकमस्त्वेवितः ।

वातं महिवान्कीरपाकमोदनं वराहृभिन्द्र एमुषम् ।

Rv. VIII. 77.10.

⁴ Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12, XIX. 22.89, XXI. 29, Sat. Bra. XII. 7.1.2., 7.2.9.

श्रीहृषक्षेत्र में यवाश्व में प्रियकृत्वश्व में इणवश्व में श्यामाकाश्व में नीवाराश्व में गौधूमा-श्व में मसूराश्व में यज्ञेन वालपत्ताम् ।

Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12.

मोपवीर्णा नेविष्टतमा यद्योप्यमाः ।

Sat. Bra. V. 2.1.6.

⁵ Sat. Bra. XII. 9.1.5.

⁶ See Chapter I, p. 4.

⁷ We come across two expressions *Dhānyabija* (Rv. V. 53.23.7.) and *Kṣitrapākṣam Odanam* (Rv. VIII. 77.10.) It is doubtful if they indicate the use of rice for *Dhānyabija* may merely mean grain and *Odana* though later used for boiled rice might have had only the sense of a mess in general in the R̄gvedic period, as the exact grain used is not mentioned. *Dhānya* may have meant rice as the word has been used by Sabara in that sense on Jaim. IX. 1.38.39.

is referred to frequently in the post R̄gvedic literature.¹ The Yajurveda mentions five varieties of it² of which the best was *Mahāvribhi*.³ A mess (*Odana*) was prepared with rice cooked in water⁴ or milk.⁵ Rice was taken also with curds,⁶ sesarmum,⁷ ghee,⁸ *Mudga* beans⁹ and meat.¹⁰ Parched rice could be taken alone¹¹ or prepared into a drink after boiling it.¹² The well known preparation *Cindā* had come into use and was known as *Prthaka*.¹³ It was prepared as now, by moistening rice grains

¹ Tait. Sam. I. 8.10, Kath. Sam. XV. 5, Av. VI. 140.2, VII. 7.20, IX. 6.14, Sat. Bra. V. 1.1.9, Brh. Up. VI 3.22, Chand. Up. III. 14. 5.

² *Kṛṣṇavribhi*. Tait. Sam. 1.8. 10, III. 1. 5.9, Kath. Sam. X. 6.

³ *Sahlavribhi*. Kath. Sam. XI. 5., Tait. Sam. I. 8.10. Jaim. Bra. L.43, Chand. Up. V. 10.6.

Āśubhāya. Tait. Sam. I. 8.10. Sat. Bra. V. 3.3.2.

पूर्व छिन्नः सत्त्वः पुनः आशु प्ररोहन्ति पुनराशुकाः इत्येवं लाशुकाः छान्दसः ।

Harisvāmi on Sat. Bra. V. 3.3.2.

a swift growing variety of rice.

Hāyana. Mait. Sam. II. 6.6., Kath., Sam. XV. 5, Sat. Bra. V. 3. 3. 6. red rice growing in a year.

संवरकस्यकां रक्तशालीनाम् ।

Harisvāmi on Sat. Bra. V. 3.3.6.

संवरकस्यका वीहृष्णः इति ।

Pāṇini III. 1.48.

cf. Ved. Ind. II., p. 502.

⁴ Tait. Sam. I. 8.10.

साम्राज्यं वा एतदोपर्धीनां यन्महावीहृष्णः ।

Ait. Bra. VIII. 16.

⁵ Av. IV. 14.7., 11. 3. Brh. Up. VI. 4. 16.

⁶ *Kṛṣṇadana*. Av. XIII. 2. 20, Sat. Bra. II. 5. 3. 4. XI. 5. 7. 1. Brh. Up. 4. 13.

⁷ *Dadhyodana*. Brh. Up. VI. 4. 15.

⁸ *Tiladana*. Brh. Up. VI. 4. 17.

⁹ *Gṛīsandana*. Sankh. Ar. XII. 8.

¹⁰ *Mūḍgandana*. Sankh. Ar. XII. 8.

¹¹ *Maṅkandana*. Sankh. Ar. XII. 8., Sat. Bra. XI. 5. 7. 5.

Brh. Up. VI. 4. 18.

पथ य इच्छेत् पुत्री मे परिष्ठो विगीतः जायेत् मांसीदनं पाचयित्वा संपिण्डन्तमशनीयात् इवरो जनयित वा भौद्रेणवाप्तेषां ।

Brh. Up. VI. 4. 18.

¹² *Parīpāpa*. Tait. Sam. III. 1. 10. 1, VI. 5. 11. 4., VII. 2. 10.4.

Kath. Sam. XXXIV. 11, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21-22, Ait. Bra. II. 24. Tait. Bra. I. 5. 11. 4.

Lajāb. Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. Tait. Bra. II. 6. 4. III. 8. 14.4, Vaj. Sam. XIX 13. 81, 21. 42, Sat. Bra. XII. 8. 2. 7.

लाजा वीहृष्णवाः पुरुषविकासिताः ।

Sāyaṇa on Tait. Bra. II. 6. 4.

¹³ Av. V. 5. 1. *Lajāmāṇḍa*.

¹⁴ Tait. Br. III. 8. 14. 5.

with water, slightly parching them and flattening them with the strokes of a pestle. We find also the mention of a preparation of rice, milk and sesamum called *Kṛṣṇa*.¹ The Proto-Australoids knew the use of rice. As its use by the Aryans looks post-Rg-vedic, is it not likely that its introduction in Aryan dietary, like that of wheat, may have been due to their contact with the Dravidians and the Proto-Australoids?² The excavations at Maheshwara and Nāvdātoli have shown that people in this region were using wheat, rice, *mashā*, *māṣa*, *Arabī*, gram, pea and *kṣūlattha* as early as about 1200 B.C.³ while rice was a common food-grain in the Madhyadeśa about 800 B.C., as rice husk was used in mud plaster at Hastināpūr.⁴

Some inferior varieties of cereals were also used.⁵ Of the pulses the most commonly used varieties were *Māṣa* (Kidneybeans),⁶

¹ Av. V. 5. *Śadvinīśa* Bra. V. 2.

² Rice grain is called *Tandula* and Chaff *peśāvā* (Av. XII. 3. 19.)

(a) Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6., Kath. Sam. X. 1. XV. 6, Tait. Sam. I. 8. 9. 3.

Av. X. 9. 26., XI. 1. 18. XII. 3. 18, 3. 29, 3. 30, Ait. Bra. I. 1.,

Sat. Bra. I. 1. 4. 3., II. 1. 3. 4., V. 2. 3. 2, VI. 6. 1. 8. Tait. Bra.

II. 8. 14. 3. Chand. Up. III. 14. 3.

See Chapter I, pp. 3-4.

³ Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Vol. XXI, No. 4/84. Culture of Maheshwara Nāvdā Toli by H. D. Sankalia, p. 332.

⁴ Ancient India Nos. X and XI (1934-35), p. 129.

⁵ *Pṛjñāngu*, (*Panicum italicum*) Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12. Tait. Sam. IV. 7. 4. Kath. Sam. X. 11. Bṛh. Up. VI. 3. 13.

Āpu, (*Panicum Miliaceum*) Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12.

Syāmāka, (*Panicum frumentaceum*) Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12. Tait. Sam. I. 8. 10. II. 3. 2, IV. 7. 4. Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6. II. 12. 4. Kath. Sam. X. 2. XV. 3. Sat. Bra. X. 6. 3. 2. XII. 7. 1. 9. Kaus. Bra. IV. 12.

स्था द्वामाकः प्रतस्त वपामानु विदते ।¹

Av. XIX. 5. 6. 4.

एष म आत्मा प्रन्तहृदये ग्रीष्मान् एषामाकाद् वा ।

Chand. Up. III. 14. 3.

Nīrāra, Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12, Kath. Sam. XII. 4. XV. 3. Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6., 4. 10., Tait. Sam. I. 8. 10, IV. 7. 4. Sat. Bra. V. 1. 4. 14. 3. 3. 1, Tait. Bra. I. 3. 6. 7. *Gavīdākṣi* (*Coix Lacryma*) Tait. Sam. V. 4. 3. 2. Mait. Sam. II. 6. 3., IV. 3. 8, Vaj. Sam. XV. 3, Tait. Bra. I. 7. 3. 6, Sat. Bra. XIV. 1. 2. 29. II. 4. 11. 23, IX. 1. 1. 8.

Āmba or *Nāmba*, Tait. Sam. I. 8. 10. 1, Kath. Sam. XV. 3, Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6. Sat. Bra. V. 3. 3. 2. *Upāñjaka* (*Wrightia antidyseenterica*). It was used in preparing grouts and a gruel. Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 22. 90. XXI. 30. Sat. Bra. XXII. 7. 1. 3., 7. 2. 9.

¹ Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12, Tait. Sam. V. 1. 8. 1, VII. 2. 10. 2. Kath. Sam. XII. 7, XXXII. 7, Mait. Sam. IV. 3. 1. Av. XII. 2. 53. Sat. Bra. I. 1. 1. 10. Bṛh. Up. VI. 3. 22.

Mudga (Phaseolus Mungo)¹ and *Masīra*² (Lentils). But for some reason or other the use of *Māṣa* is indicted for sacrificial purposes.³ One of the pulse preparations was *Kulmāṣa*. It was prepared by stewing beans and mixing them with a little *gāḍa* and oil.⁴ It seems to have generally been the food of the poor; but the rich ate it in times of scarcity.⁵

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Milk⁶ formed one of the principal ingredients of the food of Vedic Indians. Generally boiled cows milk⁷ was taken. It

त रस गह वर्णताय प्रायच्छद् यवं गीव्यायीवर्णम्यो, ब्रीहीऽन्धरदे भाषतिलौ हैमन्तशिरिराम्याम् ।

Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6.

यवं गीव्यायीवर्णम्यो ब्रीहीऽन्धरदे भाषतिलौ हैमन्तशिरिराम्याम् ।

Tait. Sam. VII. 1. 10. 2.

¹ Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12. It was also cooked with rice (Śāṅkh Aśān. XII. 8).

² Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12., Brh. Up. VI. 3. 22. The Tait. Br. III. 8. 14. 6. mentions *Masīya* which seems to be a misreading for *Masīra*. Some other pulses *Sofīra* (a) a kind of pea, *Khalakula* (b) *Delichos biflorus*, *Garmuta* (c) (Horse-gram) and *Khaiba* (*Phaseolus radiatus*) (d) are mentioned.

(a) Mait. Sam. II. 66. (b) Brh. Up. VI. 3. 13. (c) Tait. Sam. II. 4. 4., Kath. Sam. X. 11. Mait. Sam. II. 2. 4. (d) Aṣ. II. 31. 1., V. 23. 81. Vaj. Sam. XVII. 12. Brh. Up. VI. 3. 22.

³ न भाष्याणामशनीयादवशिया वै भाषाः ।

Mait. Sam. I. 4. 10.

न भाष्याणामशनीयादवश्या वै भाषाः ।

Kath. Sam. XXXII. 7.

⁴ Nirukta I. 4. Chand. Up. I. 10. 2.

⁵ महेष्वं कुल्यायान्यादनं विभिको ग अ हो भाष्य । नेतोऽन्ये यच्च ये म इस उपनिषद्वा इति ।

Chand. Up. I. 10. 2.

Śāṅkara on the above—

कुल्यायान् कुल्यितान् भाषान्

⁶ Kīra. Rv. I. 164. 7. VIII. 2. 9., IX. 67. 32., X. 87. 16.

Payas. Rv. I. 153. 4. I. 121. 5., VI. 52. 10.

Go. Rv. I. 33. 10., 151. 8., 181. 8. IV. 27. 5., IX. 46. 4., 71. 5.

इह त्रीतु ईमङ्ग वेदास्य वामस्य निहितं पदं वै ।

शीर्णः वीरं दुहूते गावो अस्य वक्त्रं वर्तन्त उदकं पदात् ।

Rv. I. 164. 7.

ज्ञोनो अस्य पूर्व्यः पतिर्दन्तीतं पातं पदस उक्तियातः ।

Rv. I. 153. 4.

⁷ Rv. I. 180. 3.

अमासु चिद् दधिये पवसन्तः पदः कुल्यायान् रुदादोहितीय ।

Rv. I. 61. 9.

पदं वाम् घर्मो अरिवना रुदोमेत परिविच्छते ।

Rv. VIII. 9. 4.

was used in preparing a mess with grains¹ and a gruel with parched barley meal.² It was also mixed with *Soma* juice.³ Milk of buffaloes might also have been used in the Rgvedic period.⁴ The popularity of milk in the later Vedic age is testified by the fact that the cow is called a blessing (*vara*).⁵ Fresh milk,⁶ boiled milk⁷ and cream of boiled milk⁸ were in common use. Goat's milk was also used.⁹ Beastings were not used for ten days.¹⁰ There were some people who lived on milk alone (*Payavrata*).¹¹

Milk was curdled by mixing with it a little sour milk, pieces of a creeper called *Pattikā*, bark of *Palāta* tree or *Kwala* (Jujube).

¹ *Kṛīrandava*. See p. 10, f. n. 5.

² *Mantha*. See p. 9, f. n. 1.

³ *Gavātira*. Rv. II. 41. 3.

Abhishti. Rv. IX. 86. 27.

⁴ The word *Mabija* (a buffalo) is frequently mentioned. Rv. V. 29. 7., VIII. 12. 8, 77. 10.

सक्षा सूखे अपचत्तूयमनिरस्य कर्त्तव्य वहिता ची शतानि ।

Rv. V. 29. 7.

⁵ वरो दक्षिणा ।

Tait. Bra. III. 12. 3. 7.

Sāyana on the above—वर शब्देन गौरमिथीयते ।

तदाहुर्या वै श्रिरेकस्याहु उपरीदन्ति एहं वै सामराम्या दीहाम्या दुहे ।

Tait. Sam. VII. 3. 31.

Cows were milked three times a day—in the morning, in the forenoon and in the evening. (See above).

⁶ *Pratidhik*. Tait. Sam. II. 3. 3. 3., Kath. Sam. XVII. 6, Av. IX. 4. 4. Sat. Bra. III. 3. 3. 2. Pānc. Bra. IX. 3. 3., XVIII. 4. 2. Tait. Bra. II. 7. 2.

गौर्वे प्रतिधुक् । तस्य शूतं तस्य शरस्तस्य दधि तस्य नरतु तस्याऽपातञ्चनं तस्य नवनीतं तस्य शूतं तस्या आमिका तस्य वाजिनम् ।

Sat. Bra. III. 3. 3. 2.

⁷ *Sṛta*. Sat. Bra. III. 2. 2. 10, VI. 3. 3. 2.

शूतं वै देवाना अं हृषि नरिष्यतम् ।

Sat. Bra. III. 2. 2. 10.

शूतम् पत्नं पथः ।

Sāyana on Sat. Bra. III. 3. 3. 2.

⁸ *Sṛta*. Sat. Bra. III. 3. 3. 2.

शूतः पत्नव्योरस्थीपरि सामूहूतम् ।

Sāyana on Sat. Bra. III. 3. 3. 2.

⁹ Tait. Sam. IV. 1. 6. 1., V. 1. 7. 4, Sat. Bra. XIV. 1. 2. 13.

¹⁰ तस्माद् वत्सं जातं दधाराशीर्वै दुहे ति ।

Tait. Bra. II. 1. 1.

¹¹ Sat. Bra. IX. 1. 1. 1.

Kauś. Bra. VIII. 9.

The curds prepared by mixing *Kusala* were not regarded as pure.¹ Curds were widely used.² Sometimes they were mixed with Soma Juice and barley meal.³ The process of churning with a churning stick was known.⁴ The mixture of curds and minute globules of butter when the latter have not been removed, was called *Prasadājya*.⁵ We find the mention of *dādhanvat* which was probably cheese with two varieties, one with pores and the other without pores.⁶ A preparation of curds with boiled milk was very popular. The solid part of the preparation was called *āmikṣa*⁷ while the liquid part was called *Vajina*.⁸

¹ *Atādaka*, (a little sour milk).

पत्तुतीर्क्कनि पर्णवल्लर्विद्वद्वच्छत् लीयं तद्वत् क्वलं राखसं भारतनविता ।
Tait. Sam. II. 5. 3. 5.

² Av. III. 12. 7. IV. 34. 6, Tait. Sam. II. 5. 3. 4, Kath. Sam. XXXIV. 3.
Pome, Bra. XVIII. 5. 12, Sat. Bra. XIV. 1. 2. 12. Jaim. Bra. II. 34^a.

³ Rv. I. 127. 2, V. 31. 7, VII. 32. 4.
मुत् पावने मुता इमे वृक्षयो यन्ति वीलये सोमासो दध्याशिरः । Rv. I. 5. 5.
Karambha (barley meal with curds) See Chapter II, p. 8.

⁴ पत्र मन्त्रां विवरन्ते रेत्तमीन् वर्गितवा इव । Rv. I. 28. 4.

Cf. Bṛhad. Up. VI. 3. 13.

⁵ Particles of butter produced by churning were called *Pāśīṣṭa*. Sat. Bra. III. 1. 5. 8.

Whey was called *Masīna*. Sat. Bra. III. 3. 3. 2.

तस्याद् यज्ञात् सर्वदृतः दोभूत् पृथदाज्यम् । पशून् तस्मिके वायव्यानरेष्वान् त्राम्याश्वं वे । Rv. X. 90. 8.

पृथद्विद्विविन्दुभिन्निमित्यमाज्यम् पृथदाज्यम् । Sāyaṇa on Tait. Sam. III. 2. 6. 2.

⁶ Ved. Ind. I, p. 209.
According to Sāyaṇa 'dādhanvat' simply denotes abundance of curds.

दधन्वत् इति दधनोधिकात् दधनार्थः । Sāyaṇa on Rv. VI. 48. 18.

अच्छद्वस्य दधन्वतः सुपुर्णस्य दधन्वतः । Rv. VI. 48. 18.

⁷ *Āmikṣa* or *Pāyayā*.
Tait. Sam. II. 5. 3. 4, III. 3. 9. 2, VI. 2. 5. 5.

Mait. Sam. II. 1. 9. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, 23.

Av. X. 9. 13. Sat. Bra. I. 8. 1. 7, 8. 1. 9., III. 3. 3. 2.

Tait. At. II. 58. Jaim. Up. II. 43^a, Ch. Up. VIII. 8. 5.
पयस्याद् वज्रेत् ।

Kaus. Bra. XIX. 7.

पयस्या आमिक्षा । Sāyaṇa on Tait. Bra. V. 11.

⁸ Tait. Sam. I. 6. 3. 10, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, 23, Sat. Bra. II. 4. 4. 21, III. 3. 3. 2, IX. 5. 5. 7.

उणे दुष्ये दण्डे दिणे दिणे घन भाग आमिक्षा । शिष्टं वाजिनम् । Mahidhara on Vaj. Sam. XIX. 22.

Butter was heated before use with a view to clarifying it.¹ It was mixed with Soma juice² and used in frying *apūpas*³ and for dipping cakes in.⁴ It was also used in making offerings to gods and manes. While solidified clarified butter was used by grown-up men, fresh butter was used by children.⁵

MEAT DIET

Meat eating is mentioned as early as the Rgvedic period. Fire is called the eater of ox and barren cows.⁶ The ritual offerings of flesh implied that the priests would eat it. A goat is also offered to fire to be carried to forefathers.⁷ A barren cow was also killed at the time of marriage⁸ obviously for food. Fish is mentioned in the Rgveda but it is difficult on the basis of this reference to conclude that the Rgvedic Indians consumed fish.⁹

¹ Rv. I. 134. 6, II. 10. 4, IV. 10. 6, 18. 8, V. 12. 1.

शुचि शूतम् न तप्तमञ्जवायाः ।

Rv. IV. 1. 6.

² मात्रे नू ते मुमिले इन्द्र पूर्वी चौमञ्जना पृथिवी काष्येन ।

वराय ते शूतवन्तः शूतसः स्वाध्यन् भवन्तु पीतये महूनिः ।

Rv. X. 29. 6.

³ Rv. X. 45. 9. See p. 19, f. n. 10 and 11.

⁴ पुरोडाशावायेनाभिचारितौ ।

Av. X. 9. 25.

⁵ *Āyūra*. (melted butter)—विलोमप् सर्पिः । Sāyāya on Ait. Bra. I. 3.

मात्रयं वै देवानां सुरभिः वृत्तं मनुष्याणामायृतं पितृणां नवनीतं गर्भाणां दद्यन्ते नाम्यन्तर्जन्ति ।

Ait. Bra. I. 3.

Ghrīta. (Solidified clarified butter). घर्णीभूतम् सर्पिः । Sāyāya on Ibid.

Āyuta. (Slightly melted butter). ईषद्विलीतं सर्पिः । Sāyāya on Ibid.

Napāniṭa. (Fresh butter) Tait. Sam. II. 3, 10, 1, VI. 1. 1, 3. Kath. Sam. XI. 7. Mait. Sam. II. 3. 4. Sat. Bra. III. 1. 3, 7, 1. 3. 8. Sat. Bra. V. 3. 7. 6. Jaim. Up. Bra. The phrase नवनीतं गर्भाणाम् may probably imply that fresh butter eaten by a pregnant woman pleases the embryo in the womb as the word 'garbha' also means embryo.

⁶ जलाश्राव जलाश्राव तोमपृष्ठात् वेधस्तोमैकिदेवान्यै ।

Rv. VIII. 45. 11.

⁷ अतो भागस्तपशा तं तपस्व तं ते शोक्तस्तपतु तं ते प्रचिः ।

याह्वै दिवास्तव्वो जातवेवस्त्वाभिवृहत्वम् सुकृतामुत्तोम् ।

Rv. X. 16. 4.

⁸ ग्रावाम् हृन्यन्ते ग्रावो ।

Rv. X. 85. 13.

⁹ अह्नापिनद्वं सधु पर्वपश्यन् भरत्यां व दीन उदनि शिष्यन्तम् ।

Rv. X. 68. 8.

A slaughter house is also mentioned.¹ The flesh of horses, rams, barren cows, sheep, and buffaloes was cooked.² Probably flesh of birds was also eaten.³

In the later Vedic period it was customary to kill a big ox or a big goat to feed a distinguished guest.⁴ Sometimes a cow that miscarried or a sterile cow was also killed.⁵ *Atithigra* also implies that cows were slain for guests.⁶ Many animals—cows, sheep, goats, and horses continued to be killed at sacrifices and the flesh of these sacrificed animals was eaten by the participants.⁷ Many words in the sense of fishermen are used in the Yajurveda which makes us infer that the Aryans had included fish in their diet by that time.⁸

¹ *Sarana*. (a slaughter house).

कार्त्ति स्वित्ता त इन्द्र चेत्यासद्वस्य यद्भिः नदोरत्ता एषत् ।

मित्रश्वेतो यच्छस्ते न गावः पूर्णिमा भाष्यमया शमन्ते ।

Rv. X. 89. 14.

² Rv. V. 29. 7, 29. 8, VI. 17. 11, 17. 13, VIII. 12. 8.

यस्मिन्प्रश्वासे ऋषभास उत्तरो वशा मेषा अवसृष्टिः प्राहुडाः ।

Rv. X. 91. 14.

यच्छतं महिषां इन्द्र तुभ्यम् ।

Rv. VI. 17. 11.

³ इवाच्चैव कृत्तनुविज आमि नामा ।

Rv. I. 92. 10.

⁴ Av. III. 21. 6, Tait. Sam. I. 3. 14. 7.

महोरं वा महानं वा पञ्चेत् ।

Sat. Bra. III. 4. 1. 2.

मनुव्याज आगोऽन्यस्मिन्वा हृत्युक्षारं या पैहृतं वा शदन्ते ।

Alt. Bra. III. 4. 15.

⁵ जायमानाभिजायते देवान्ता भाष्यान् वशा ।

तस्माद् जन्माम्यो देवैषा तद्युक्तं स्वस्य योग्यतम् ।

Av. XII. 4. 10.

⁶ Ved. Ind. I. p. 15., Alt. Bra. I. 15.

⁷ Mait. Sam. III. 14, Vaj. Sam. XIII. 47-51. Tait. Sam. IV. 2. 10. 1-4. Pnsc. Bra. XXI. 14. 5, Alt. Bra. VI. 8. Sat. Bra. IX. 7. 1. 3., Tait. Sam. I. 3. 8., Gopatha. Bra. III. 13. 18.

अष्टातः सवनीयस्य पशोऽविभागं व्याह्यास्यामः उदृत्यावदानाति हनु सजिह्वे प्रस्तोतुः
..... दक्षिणो पादौ गृह्णपते तदवद्वस्य सधौ पादौ गृह्णत्याः तत्प्रदायाः सहैवेनयोरोऽन-
स्तं गृह्णतिरेतानुशिनिं ।

Gopatha Bra. III. 18.

⁸ *Sangkala*. Vaj. Sam. XIII. 16, Tait. Bra. III. 4. 12. 1.

Patis. Av. XVIII. 1.

Baikra. Vaj. Sam. XXX. 16.

Kaivarta. Tait. Bra. III. 4. 12. 1.

Of the meat preparations the most common in the Rgvedic period were flesh roasted on spits,¹ and boiled in pots. The latter was eaten with great relish.² Meat cooked with rice was much valued as food in the Upaniṣadic period.³

Some notion of pure and impure meat was present even in the days of the Rgveda. A man cooked the entrails of a dog in extreme destitution.⁴ The cow, on account of its usefulness and the many blessings it provided was considered *aghyā* (not to be killed).⁵ Sterile cows could perhaps, be killed a little more freely.⁶

Vegetarianism was perhaps also not unknown to the Rgvedic Aryans. A devout offering of praise or of fuel stick or cooked food was considered as good as a more solemn sacrifice.⁷ Then there is a whole hymn addressed to *Pitṛ* (nutriment) which mentions all the articles of food except meat.⁸ In the later Vedic

Puṣṇijyā. Vaj. Sam. XXVI. 27., Tait. Sam. IV. 5. 42. Mait. Sam. II. 9. 5., Kath. Sam. XVII. 13.

सरोम्यो वैवरम्पुस्तवावराम्यो दत्यां वैष्णवाम्यो वैतदं नहवत्ताम्यः शैवकलं पाराय पारारिमवाराय शैवर्त्त तीर्येम्यः किरातः सातुम्यो अम्बकं पर्वतेम्यः किम्पूष्यम् ।

Vaj. Sam. XXX. 16.

¹ Rv. I. 162. 11, Av. IX. 6.17.

यते गात्रादग्निना पच्यमानादग्निशूलं निहतस्यावशति ।

Rv. I. 162. 11.

² वसीष्ठाणं मास्यचत्या उड्याया या पात्राणि यूणि शास्त्रेचनाति ।

अत्यध्यापिष्ठाना चलणमस्तुः सूताः परिमूष्यमवश्वम् ।

Rv. I. 162. 13.

मांस विक्षा मुपासित ।

Rv. I. 162. 12.

³ *Maitrandase*. Bṛhad. Up. VI. 4. 18.

See p. 10, f. n. 10.

⁴ शैवर्त्ति सूत आन्त्राणि देष्टे ।

Rv. IV. 18. 13.

⁵ Rv. I. 164. 40, IV. 1. 6, V. 83. 8, VIII. 69. 2., X. 87. 16.

दुहामश्विन्यां परो अज्येयं सा वर्षतो महते सौभग्याय ।

Rv. I. 164. 27.

⁶ Av. XII. 4. 10.

⁷ यः यामिथा य अशुद्धि यो वेदेन ददाश मर्तो यन्मन्ये यो नमसा स्वर्वतः ।

Rv. VIII. 19. 5.

⁸ यदपामोषधीनां परिद्वामारिषामग्ने । वातापे पीव इद्वृत ।८

यत्ते सोम गवाशिशो यवाशिशो भजाग्ने । वातापे पीव इद्वृत ।९

करम्भ भोवधे भव पीवो वृक्त चदारिषः । वातापे पीव इद्वृत ।१०

Rv. I. 187. 8-10.

period a feeling of revulsion against meat eating, especially beef, is found in almost all our works.¹ The Atharvaveda regards beef eating as an offence against forefathers (Pitrs)². Brhaspati, it is said, takes away the progeny of those who consume a cow.³ There was also an injunction against the slaughter of horses in a sacrifice.⁴ People who observed a vow, generally, abstained from meat diet⁵ and Brähmanas took only sanctified meat and that too of pure animals.⁶

SWEETS

Honey was, possibly, the earliest sweet thing Indians knew.⁷ It was taken out from two kinds of bees, one big *Ārāgara* and the other small *Sāragba*.⁸ The latter kind was considered better than the former.⁹ It was used to sweeten food articles such as

¹ We find some exceptions even in this period for instance Yājñavalkya relished beef diet.

सदुहीवाच याजवल्कयोऽनम्भेवाह् मात्रैसरं चेऽनवतीति ।

Sat. Bra. III. 1. 2. 21.

² कूरमस्या आशासरं तृष्णं पिचितमस्यते ।

क्षीरं यदस्याः पीत्वा तद् वै पितृत् किलितम् ।

Av. V. 19. 5.

³ यो वेहते मन्यगानोऽमाच पश्वे वशाम्

मप्यस्य पुजान् एतांपच यान्वते वृहस्पतिः ।

Av. XII. 4. 38.

⁴ इमं मा हि श्री सीरेकशाकं पश्वं कनिक्रदं शाजिनं वाजिनेषु ।
Vaj. Sam. XIII. 48.

⁵ Av. VI. 70. 1. Sat. Bra. XIV. 1. 1. 29.

⁶ तुदग्निहोत्रोऽच्छष्टमष्य यत्स्यात्याय यदा परीष्ण हो निर्वेदेव त तस्मातदद्युग्म्य कदम्
पिवेत्त द्वैना शाहूणः पितृत् ।

Sat. Bra. II. 2. 1. 39.

तज्जते पङ्कवं पशावोऽमवस्तु एतङ्गत्कांतं मेष्वाः प्रेष्वाः अवज्जिवासतेषां शाहूणो ना-
इनीयात् ।

Sat. Bra. XII. 1. 2. 39.

cf. Alt. Bra. VI. 8.

⁷ Rv. IV. 43. 5, 45. 3, X. 24. 6, Vaj. Sam. VI. 2, XXXVII. 10.
Av. VI. 69. 1., IX. 7. 22, Tait. Bra. III. 1. 2. 4, 1. 2. 13.

मधुः पितृते मधुयेभिरासभिहृत त्रियं मधुने युक्त्वाणां रथम् ।

शावर्तनि मधुना जिन्वयस्यचो दृति वहये मधुमन्तमगिक्तना ।

Rv. IV. 45. 3.

⁸ शारङ्ग्नेत्र मध्वेरयेषो सारथेव गवि नौरीनवार ।

कीनारेव स्वेदमसिष्यिदाना शोभे बोर्जा शूद्रवसात् सनेषे ।

Rv. X. 106. 10.

⁹ यशो ह वै मधु सारथम् ।

Sat. Bra. III. 11. 3. 13.

apūpa.¹ Its use is tabooed for women² and students.³

Sugarcane (*Iksu*) is not expressly mentioned in the *Rgveda*⁴ but is found in all the other *Samhitās*.⁵ Chewing of sugarcane is referred to in the *Atharvaveda*.⁶

Apūpa was a round cake of barley meal⁷ or rice flour⁸ baked in clarified butter⁹ on slow fire.¹⁰ Honey was added to sweeten it.¹¹ It is, probably, the earliest sweet preparation known to us.

SALTS AND SPICES

Salt is not mentioned in the *Rgveda* although the Salt range exists in the *Sapta Sindhu*, the region occupied by the *Rgvedic* Indians. In the rest of the Vedic Literature salt is frequently

¹ अपूपवान् मधुमांसचरेह सीदतु ।

Av. XVIII. 4. 22.

² तस्मादुत्त स्त्रियो मधु नाशनन्ति पुत्राणामिदं अत्तम् चराम इति वदन्तीः ।

Jaim. Up. Bra. I. 15. 2.

³ न व्रह्मन्तारी सन्मध्वदभीयतु ।

Sat. Bra. XI. 5. 4. 18.

⁴ However, according to B. Majumdar *Kakura*. (Rv. I. 191. 3.) refers to sugarcane. The word is still used for sugarcane in Bengal.

शरासः कुक्कुरासो दर्भासः सर्पारितः । मौज्जा अदृष्टा वैशिष्ट्यः लर्वे साकं त्वलिष्टतः ।

Rv. I. 191. 3.

⁵ Av. I. 34. 5., XII. 2. 54, 100, 277. Mait. Sam. III. 7. 9., IV. 2. 9., V4. Sam. XXV. 1., Tait. Sam. III. 8.

⁶ परित्वा पश्चिमुने क्षुण्णात्म विद्विष्ये ।

यथा भां कामित्यसो यथा मन्त्रापग्ना असः ।

Av. I. 34. 1.

⁷ यवमयमपूर्पं कृत्वा यत्राहृष्टनीयमाभास्यन्मवति तत्त्विदधाति ।

Sat. Bra. II. 2. 3. 13.

⁸ त्रीहिमयमपूर्पं कृत्वा यत्र गाहृत्य भावास्यन्मवति तत्त्विदधाति ।

Sat. Bra. II. 2. 3. 12.

⁹ And¹⁰ यस्ते यथा रुक्षवद् भद्रासोनेऽपूर्पं देव घृतवन्तमग्ने ।

घृतवन्तम्—in clarified butter.

भद्रासोने—on slow fire.

Rv. X. 45. 9.

Rv. III. 51. 1.

Sat. Bra. IV. 2. 3. 19.

Also please see Appendix I.

¹¹ 'See f. n. (1) above'.

mentioned.¹ Some spices such as brassica (*baja*),² *Jambila* (*citrus aurantium*)³, turmeric⁴, and long pepper⁵ were also probably used in the preparation of food articles.

OILS AND OILSEEDS

Sesame was used as a food article.⁶ The two common preparations were a *gtuel*⁷ and a porridge.⁸ A wild variety of Sesamum (*Jerfila*) was also used in preparing a porridge.⁹ Sesamum oil is not mentioned in the *Rgveda* but is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*.¹⁰ Mustard is mentioned in the *Upaniṣads* and *Brāhmaṇas*.¹¹ The use of oil was perhaps commoner with the non-Aryans than the Aryans.¹²

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

Flowering and fruit bearing plants are mentioned in the

¹ Av. VII. 76. 1. Sat. Bra. V. 2. 1. 16. Jaim Up. III. 17. 3. Brh. Up. 4. 12. Chand. Up. IV. 17. 7.

लवणे च सुबर्णं सन्दध्यात् ।

Gopatha Bra. I. 14.

य यथा सैम्बव छिल्य उद्धो ग्रासत ।

Brh. Up. II. 4. 12.

² *Baja* (brassica), Av. VIII. C. 3. VIII. 6. 6.

³ *Jambila*, Mait. Sam. III. 15. 3.

Kath. Sam. V. 2. 1. Vaj. Sam. XV. 3.

⁴ *Haridrā*, (Long turmeric) Av. XII. 24. 2.

⁵ *Pippali*, (Epuloides, Long Pepper) Av. VI. 109.

⁶ Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12., Mait. Sam. IV. 3. 2., Tait. Sam. VII. 2. 10. 2., Av. IV. 7. 3., II. 8. 3., VI. 140. 2., XVIII. 3. 69. 4. 32.

Sat. Bra. IX. 1. 1. 3.

Stalks of Sesame (*Tilapijja*) were used as fuel (Av. XII. 2. 54).

⁷ Av. IV. 7. 3.

⁸ Brh. Up. VI. 4. 16.

⁹ Tait. Sam. V. 4. 3. 2.

उभयस्वेतद्वारे यज्ञतिला यच्च याम्य वल्यारण्यम्

यद्वहू तिलस्तोत्रं याम्य यद्वहूप्ते पच्यन्ते तेनारण्यम् ।

Sat. Bra. IX. 1. 1. 3.

¹⁰ वः कुमारी पिङ्गलिका वसन्तं पीवरी कम्भेत् । तिलकुम्भमिमाकूल्यं रोदन्तं चुदमूर्देत् ।

Av. XX. 136. 16.

¹¹ Sad. Brz. V. 2.

एव म आत्माऽन्तर्हृदयेऽन्नान् व्रीहिर्वा यवाद् वा सर्पणादास्यामाकाढा श्वायाक-
तण्डुलाद् वा जोकेम्यः ।

Chand. Up. III. 14. 3.

¹² याम्ने तैलस्व प्राचान् यातुवानान् विलोपय ।

Av. I. 7. 2.

Rgveda.¹ It is obvious also that fruits were a valuable part of Arya dietary² but we come across specific names only in the later Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. Three varieties of jujube,³ *bilva* (aegle marmelos)⁴ and *Kharjūra* (*Phoenisilvestris*)⁵ are mentioned in the Yajurveda. Mango is for the first time mentioned in the Sat. Bra.⁶ while *Amalaka* (myrobalan fruit) in the Jaim. Up. Bra.⁷ Jujube was also eaten by the people of Maheshwar Navdātoli about 1200 B.C.⁸

¹ Rv. VI. 49. 14. VII. 34. 23, 35. 57, X. 97. 1. Av. XIX. 3. 1.

ओषधीरिति मातरस्तद्वा देवी रुपकृते । सनेयमश्वं भो वारु भातिर्वानं तवं पूर्णं ।

Rv. X. 97. 4.

याः कलिनीर्षा अफला अमूल्या याश्व तुष्णिणीः । बृहस्पतिप्रसूतास्तानो मुञ्जनवृहस्पः ।

Rv. X. 97. 15.

तत्रो रायः पर्वतास्तश्च आपस्ताप्तिदाच ओषधीशत शोः ।

वनस्पतिभिः पृथिवी सज्जोपा उमे रोदसी परिपातली नः ।

Rv. VII. 34. 23.

² Rv. X. 97. 5.

मुञ्जननु भो वापव्यादधो वरेष्यादुत । इष्टो दमस्य पद्मीशाल् तवेस्मादेव किलिव-
पात् ।

Rv. X. 97. 16.

त वा अरण्यानिर्हन्त्यन्वशेषाभिगच्छति । इवादोः कलस्य जलवाय यथाकार्म निषेदते ।

Rv. X. 146. 3.

Also see X. 146. 6. III. 45. 4.

³ Jujube fruit was also used in preparing groats.

Sat. Bra. V. 5. 4. 22. XII. 9. 1. 5.

Badara. (a large sized Jujube)—Kath. Sam. XX. 20, Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 22. 90, XXI. 30, Tait. Bra. I. 8. 5. 1. Sat. Bra. V. 4. 10, XII. 7. 1. 3, 7. 2. 9. 9. 1. 8. Jaim. Bra. II. 136. 5.

Kuvala. (an average sized soft Jujube) Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 22. 89, XXI. 29. Sat. Bra. V. 4. 10.

Karkandhu (a small sized jujube) Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. Kath. Sam. XII. 10. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 23. XXI. 32.

⁴ Av. XX. 136. 13, Mait. Sam. III. 9. 3.

Ait. Bra. II. 1. Sat. Bra. XIII. 4. 4. 8.

⁵ Kath. Sam. XI. 10, XXXVI. 71.

यतीताभ्यमानाना अ॒ शीर्षिणि अरापत्तेऽलंकूरा अभवन् ।

Tait. Sam. II. 4. 9. 2.

⁶ यथा अम्बोदुम्बरं क्वापिष्पलद्वा वस्तनात् प्रमुच्यतेवमे वायु अ॒ शारीर शाल्मस्योऽ-
क्षेपः सम्प्रमुच्य पुनः प्रतिम्बावधतियोन्पादवति प्राणायेव ।

Sat. Bra. XIV. 7. 1. 41.

⁷ वै तद् यात् याम्बादमलकाण्डे नागातेऽति हृष्णांस्त तद् अवकायत् ।

Jaim. Up. Bra. I. 38. 6.

⁸ See p. 11, f. n. 3.

Also see Chand. Up. VII. 3. 1.

Of the vegetables cucumber (*Urvāraka*)¹ and lotus stalks (*bisa*)² were known to the R̄gvedic Indians. The latter was probably in common use with the edible roots of lotus (*Sāluka*)³ and *alābh* (bottle gourd)⁴. *Sapbaka* (*Trapa bispinosa*)⁵ also seems to have been used as a food article. People of Maheshwar Navdātoli used beans about 1200 B.C.⁶

BEVERAGES

Of the beverages of the Vedic Indian—*Soma* Juice was the most important.⁷ The plant was brought from some mountains especially Maujavanta.⁸ The process of extracting the juice is described in detail. The stalks were crushed between two stones.⁹

¹ Av. VI. 14. 2, Mait. Sam. I. 10. 4, Tait. Sam. I. 8. 62, Vaj. Sam. III. 60.

उर्वारकमित्र वनस्पतान्मृत्यो वृश्चीय मामृतात् ।

Rv. VII. 59. 12.

१ इवं शुष्मेभिर्विश्वा दृश ।

Rv. VI. 61. 2.

Also see Av. IV. 34. 5, Ait. Bra. V. 30, Ait. Ār. III. 2. 4. Sañkh. Ār. XI. 4.

² Av. IV. 35. 5.

³ Av. VIII. 10. 29 and 30.

⁴ Av. IV. 39. 5.

Some other plants are mentioned :—

Mulī (*Trapa bispinosa*)—Av. IV. 34. 5.

Asoka (*Blyscus Clandra*—an aquatic plant)

Av. IV. 37. 8, VIII. 7. 9, 37. 38. 10. Tait. Sam. IV. 6. 1. 1, V. 4. 2.

Kapīttha (*Feronia Limonia*) Av. IV. 2. 8.

Andikā (*Nymphaea alba*) Av. IV. 35. 5, IV. 17. 16.

Madigha (a sweet herb) Av. I. 34. 4, VI. 122. 3.

Aspatala Sat. Bra. III. 4. 1. 17., III. 6. 3. 10.

Madhukā (*Bassia Latifolia*) Av. I. 34. 5.

Upapā (Sat. Bra. III. 4. 3. 13. and IV. 2. 5. 15).

Praputra (Panc. Bra. VIII. 4. 1.) and *Ādāra* (Kath. Sam. XXIV. 3., (Sat. Bra. IV. 5. 10. 4.) were used as substitutes for *Soma*.

⁵ See p. 11, f. n. 3.

⁶ निरपस्तोत्रो वनस्पतिर्धनामत्तः सर्वदृष्टः । हृष्वानो मानुषा युगा ।

Rv. IX. 12. 7.

The exact identity of the *Soma* plant is controversial. Dr. J. M. Unwala has on the basis of Vedic and Avestan references identified it with 'Ephedra.'

See Vallabha Vidyā Nagar Research Bulletin. Vol. I. Issue 2, pp. 7-10. Also see appendix VIII B on beverages.

⁷ Rv. I. 93. 6, III. 48. 2, V. 36. 2, 43. 4, 81. 2.

परि सुवानो गिरितः पवित्रे सोमा ग्रासः । सदैष सर्वथा ग्रसि ।

Rv. IX. 18. 1.

⁸ Rv. 65. 25, 66. 29, 70, 7.

ग्रावा यत्र वदति काशस्पत्यस्त्वयेदिन्द्रो अभिपित्त्वे रथति ।

Rv. I. 83. 6.

They were sometimes pounded in a mortar with a pestle.¹ Before crushing, the plant was washed in water.² In order that it may yield copious juice, water was sprinkled on the stalks.³ It was pounded with both hands.⁴ Women sang songs when they squeezed the juice of the plant with their fingers.⁵

Soma juice was pressed in very large quantities⁶ and was poured upon a strainer for removing the impurities.⁷ It was stored in jars or wooden tubs and was either brown, ruddy or tawny.⁸ It was mixed with curds, clarified butter or milk to improve its taste.⁹ Other preparations with which it was mixed were *Karambha*, *dhānāp*, *apīpa*, *pakti*, *saktu*, water and honey.¹⁰

¹ यत्र मन्यां विवर्णते रसमीमित वा इव । उत्तराल मुत्तानामेदिन्द्र जलासः ।

Rv. I. 28. 4.

भूयो इन्द्राय पातवे सूत् सोनम् लुक्षल ।

Rv. I. 28. 6.

² पदाद्धिः परिषिद्धसे युज्यमानो गमस्त्वोः ।

cf. Rv. IX. 16. 2.

Rv. IX. 65. 6.

³ Rv. IX. 74. 9., Av. IX. 6. 16.

⁴ Rv. IX. 72. 5.

⁵ लम्बुला वीर्मिरस्वरद् हित्यर्तीः सप्त जानयः । दिप्रभासा विवस्त्वतः ।

Rv. IX. 66. 8.

⁶ दृश्यं सोमासः प्रदिवि मुत्तासः समृद्धं न लवत् भाविकान्ति ।

Rv. III. 46. 4.

⁷ अन्तः पवित्रे भावितः ।

Rv. IX. 12. 5.

⁸ *Kalabju* (Vessels) Rv. IX. 12. 5.

Dropa (Wooden tubs) Rv. IX. 15. 7, 33. 2.

Babru (brown) Rv. IX. 33. 2, 63. 4, 63. 6.

Hari (tawny) Rv. IX. 3. 9.

Aruya (ruddy) Rv. IX. 40. 2, 45. 3.

⁹ *Dadhyatira* Rv. IX. 23. 3, 101. 12.

Gṛhatam Vasiṣṭhā Rv. IX. 81. 2.

Pariskṛtā gobbiḥ Rv. IX. 61. 13, 46. 4, 64. 28.

Siddhukarmagobbiḥ Rv. VIII. 2. 3.

¹⁰ इमं जम्मेसुतं पिव भानाकृतं कर्त्तिभगमपूपवन्तमुनिदनम् ।

Rv. VIII. 91. 2.

पूष्पवले ते चक्रमा करम्य हृतिवते हृष्टेष्वाय धानाः ।

अपूपमंडि सगणी मण्डिः सोमं दिव वृत्तहा शूर विद्वान् ।

Rv. III. 52. 7.

त तोम आमिस्तुतम् गुलोमूद् यस्मिन् पक्षिः पञ्चते सन्तिथानाः ।

Rv. VI. 29. 4.

मस्य मा पश्वाः शतम् दृष्यं यन्त्युदाणः पश्वदेष्वस्य दानाः सोमा इव व्याधिरः ।

Rv. V. 27. 3.

अपाधिरः सक्तवः व्योधाना इति सोम भित्ताणि श्रीणि ।

Mādhyava on Rv. V. 27. 3.

According to Vedic descriptions Soma juice was sweet and delicious in taste.¹ It was believed that it inspired confidence, courage, faith and self-trust and bestowed powers of eloquence and immortality.² It was called pure, purifying,³ and the most heavenly nectar.⁴ A strong mixture of Soma Juice, called *Pashcadasa*, is also mentioned.⁵

Another beverage of the Vedic period was *Sura* (intoxicating liquor) which was prepared from fermented barley or wild paddy

अद्विः सोम पूनातस्य ते रसोऽस्यो वारं चिपमान धावति ।

त मृज्यमानः कविभिर्दिन्तम् रुद्रस्वेन्द्राय चिपमान पीतये ।

पाचमानीयो अप्येत्युपिभिः ताम्भृतं रसं । Rv. IX. 74. 9.

तस्मै सरस्वती द्वाहे धीरं सपिर्मधूदकम् ।

¹ स्वादुष्कलाये मधुमां उतायं तीव्रः किलायं रसवौ उताम्भ् Rv. IX. 67. 32.

मधु (Sweet), स्वादु (delicious)

Rv. VI. 47. 1.

² श्रयं मे पीत उदियति बाचमयं भनीवामुशतीक्षीणः ।
श्रयं पशुर्वरभिर्मीति धीरो न याम्यो भुवनं कल्पनारे ।

Rv. VI. 47. 3.

सोमः पवते जनिता मरीनो जनिता दिवो जनिता पूर्विष्याः ।
जनिताम्भेर्जनिता सूर्येत्य जनितेन्द्रस्य जनितोत विष्णोः ।

Rv. IX. 96. 5.

यो म इन्दुः पितरो हृष्टु वीतोऽमलयो भत्यौ आविवेश ।

तस्मै सोमाय हृविष्या विष्वेम मृदुके अस्य सुमती स्याम ।

³ शुचि (pure) पाचक (purifying)

Rv. VIII. 48. 12.

⁴ दिवः पीद्युषं पूर्वम् ।

Rv. IX. 24. 7.

Rv. IX. 110. 8.

The above qualities of Soma juice show that it was a drink very different from *Sura*. When Soma plant could not be had some other plants such as *Pashadasa* and *Ajima* were used as its substitutes. Also see Appendix VIII B.

यदि सोमं न किन्देयः पूर्वोकामनिषुण्युर्विदि न पूर्वोकामनिषुमानि ।

⁵ पश्चानिते तीव्रं मुतं पञ्चदशं निषिष्वन्म् ।

Tāndya Br. IX. 1. 3.

Rv. X. 27. 2.

Pashadasa might have been some other beverage but is identified with Soma by *Syāya*. It is frequently mentioned Rv. I. 122. 1, I. 135. 1, VIII. 92. 1, X. 88. 1.

प्र वः पान्तं रसुमन्वयोऽस्थो यज्ञं रुद्राय भीहलुपे भरव्यम् ।

Rv. I. 122. 1.

after distillation.¹ But while the use of Soma Juice was highly commended that of *Surā* was condemned. Drinking *Surā* gave rise to broils in the assembly.² Its popularity in the later Vedic period is, however, evident from a verse in the Atharvaveda where it is mentioned as a reward for the performance of sacrifices.³ The praise of *Surā* in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the placing of *Surā* vessel in the hands of a king⁴ makes us conclude that the *Kṣatriyas* were generally in the habit of drinking *Surā*.

But the evil effects of drinking were known. It is regarded as one of the seven sins forbidden by the *Vedas*⁵ and is classed with anger, senselessness and dicing.⁶ Realising its evil effects the *Brāhmaṇas* avoided drinking⁷ and good kings like *Aśvapati* proudly declared that there was no drunkard in their kingdoms.⁸

¹ RV. VIII. 2. 12., I. 116. 7., X. 131. 4., 131. 5.

RV. VII. 86. 6., VIII. 21. 14., Mait. Sam. I. 2. 6., II. 4. 2., IV. 2. 1., Tait. Sam. I. 3. 3. 2., Sat. Bra. XIII. 7. 3. 8., I. 6. 3. 2., Chand. Up. V. 10. 9.

² हृत्यु पीतासो युध्यन्ते दुर्मशासो न सुरायाम् । उधर्न नग्ना बरन्ते

RV. VIII. 2. 12.

एतदै देवानां परमन्तं यत्तोमः एतन्मनुष्याणां असुरा ।

Tait. Bra. I. 3. 3. 2-3.

³ चृत्हृदा मधुकूलाः सुरोदकाः कीरेण पूर्णा उदकेन दन्ता.... उपत्वा तिष्ठन्तु
पुष्करिणीः समन्ताः ।

AV. IV. 34. 6.

⁴ अथ यसुरा भवति शत्रू रूपं तदथो यशस्य रसः शत्रू रूपमे वास्तिस्तदृष्टात्ययो यशस्य
रसम् । यथास्मै सुराकांसं हस्त आदधाति ।

Ait. Bra. XXXVII. 4.

⁵ सप्त मर्यादाः कवयस्तत्त्वस्त्वासामिकायिदम्भवृदेषाद् ।

आयोहं स्तम्भ उपस्य नीके पक्षो विसमें भर्वेषु तस्यो ।

RV. X. 1. 6.

स्तेषु गृहत्यारोहणं व्रह्महत्या सुरायत्नं

दुष्कृतकर्मणः पुनः पुनः सेवा पातकैऽनुरोधम् ।

Nirukta VI. 17.

⁶ न स्वोदको वरुण ब्रूति: ऋा सुरा मन्युर्विभीषको अचिच्छः ।

RV. VII. 86. 6.

⁷ तस्माऽन्यायांश्च कनीयोऽन्य लृपाः वसुरस्त्वं सुरापीत्वा तालिपत्रं आस्ते । पात्या वैमत्यं
तस्माद् ब्राह्मणः सुरां न पिवति ।

Kath. Sam. XIII. 2.

⁸ उदाच न मे स्तेनो जनयदे न कवर्णो न मध्यो । . . . भगवन्त इति ।

Chand. Up. V. 11. 5.

Another common intoxicating drink was *parisruta*.¹ It was prepared either from flowers or by fermenting certain grasses,² while *Kidā* was a sweet drink prepared from cereals.³ The preparations of another drink called *Māsara* is described in the *Yajurveda*.⁴ It was prepared with a mixture of mess of rice and some spices which was allowed to ferment for three days.⁵ This beverage was purified with the help of a filter.⁶

Water is described as nectar (*amṛta*) and a remedy (*bbheṣaja*).⁷ Main sources of water were rivers, wells, springs. Rain water was also used for drinking.⁸

¹ Vaj. Sam. XIX. 15. XX. 39, XXI. 29, Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. Av. III. 12. 7, XX. 127. 9; Sat. Bra. V. 1. 2. 14.

त वा एष परिषुतो यशस्तायतेऽपादा तै लाहुणेन परिषुत् सप्तशत् दनाद्यज्ञायतेऽपा ।

Sat. Bra. XII. 9. 1. 1.

² पुष्टोम्योनिः सूतं गारम् ।

Mahidhara on Vaj. Sam. II. 34.

कुलाद्यन् कृष्णन् कौरव्यः पतिकंदति जायया ।

करतरत् त आहराजि दधि मन्यां परिषुतम् ।

Av. XX. 127. 8-9.

मुरासाधनाय पर्याप्तं परिषाक्रैः शर्वेन्द्रियान्नो रुदः परिषुद्दिष्यच्चते ।

Hariśvāmī on Sat. Bra. V. 1. 2. 14.

³ Av. IV. 11. 10. 26. 6. 27. 5. VI. 69. 1. X. 6. 23. XII. 1. 19. Tait. Bra. II. 6. 12. 13. Mait. Sam. II. 7. 12. III. 11. 3. 4.

⁴ Vaj. Sam. XIX. 14. 82; Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. 9.

Tait. Bra. 6. 11. 3. 6. 11. 4.

⁵ श्रीहि श्यामाकौदाचामयोः शृणु तौतम लाज नमनहु चूर्णः संसर्गो मातरम् ।

Mahidhara on Vaj. Sam. XIX. 14.

मातरम् तक चित्तितम् सूक्ष्म यत्र चूर्णम् ।

Sāyana on Tait. Bra. II. 6. 11. 3.

According to Sāyana *Māsara* means powdered barley meal mixed with butter milk. The interpretation of Sāyana does not seem to be correct in view of the method of preparation described in the Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra. XIX. 1. 20-22.

⁶ See Ch. III, p. 44.

⁷ RV. X. 101. 7. Kauṣītaki Bra. XII. 1. Tait. Bra. I. 7. 6. 5. Bṛh. Up. VII. 10. 1.

अष्टव्यन्तरमृतमध्ये भेषजम् । अपामृतं प्रशस्तिभिरश्वा भवथ वाचिनो गावो भवथ वाचिनी ।

Av. I. 4. 4.

ममूताहापः ।

Tait. Bra. I. 7. 6. 3.

⁸ ग्रात् आपो हैमवतीः, शमुते सन्तूरस्याः । शोते सनिददा आपः शमुते सन्तु वध्योः ।

शोते आपोपन्तवन्याः शोते सन्तवन्याः । शोते सनिदिना आपः शो योः कुम्भेभिरामृताः ।

शोत भव्यः लनमाना विप्राम्भम्भीरे अपसः । भिवम्भो भिवत्तराः आपो शन्दा जदामयि ।

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The art of cooking¹ was well developed as early as the R̄gvedic period. The processes of cleaning food grains with a sieve and grinding them were known.² Preparation of such food articles as *Kṛṣṇa* and *Prthuka* shows a very high stage of development. Meat was not only roasted and cooked in the form of a soup but also cooked with rice.

There were cooks and servers of food.³ Many implements and utensils were used in cooking. Some of these were made of clay, wood and stone while others were made of metals. Leather vessels were used for storing liquids.⁴

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

Vedic Indians laid great stress on the virtue of hospitality. Even their beloved god fire is called a guest (*atithi*) in the R̄gveda.⁵ In another verse it is considered a sin to take food

अपामहू दिव्यानामपां खोतस्यानाम् । अपामहू प्रणे जनेश्वा भवत्त वाजिनः ।
ता अपः शिवा शपोत्प्रश्नं कर्णीरपः । यथैक तृष्णते यदस्तास्त आदत्त भेषणीः ।

Av. XIX. 2. 1-5.

Seventeen kinds of waters are mentioned in the Sat. Bra.

ता वा एताः सप्तदशापः सम्भारति ।

Sat. Bra. V. 3. 4. 22.

¹ Cooked food is called *pakṣa* or *Parṣa*.

Av. VI. 119. 2. XII. 3. 55. Sat. Bra. I. 3. 1. 26. 6. 1. 9., RV. I. 61. 7. X. 116. 8.

² सकृत्यिव तित्तुना पुनर्नोऽ ।

RV. X. 71. 2.

उपत्प्रक्षिणी नना ।

RV. IX. 112. 3.

According to the authors of the Vedic Index Vol. I., p. 94, the corn in this period was ground in mortars with pestles and 'spatula' simply means a mortar. Dr. H. D. Sankalia thinks that the people of Maheshwar Navda Toli region used two pieces of stone for grinding corn such as wheat and gram and the circular stones were used by Indians about the beginning of the Christian era as a result of their contact with the Greeks and the Romans. See Journal of the Gujarat Research Society Vol. No. 4/84, p. 332.

³ *Pariveggārāb* (servers) Av. IX. 6. 3. 1.

Pakṣi (cooks) Av. XI. 3. 17.

Śrapayāt (cooks) Sat. Bra. I. 2. 2. 14.

⁴ See Appendix A (pp. 32-33).

⁵ RV. I. 51. 6. I. 112. 14. VI. 47. 22. VII. 3. 5.

अहू पुरो मन्दसानो औरं तव सार्क नवतीः याम्बरस्य

पततनं वैष्ण सर्वताता दिवोदात्मतिथिग्वं यदात्मम् ।

RV. IV. 26. 3.

without feeding a hungry person.¹ In the Atharvaveda feeding a guest, without hatred or doubt², is considered as meritorious as performing a sacrifice.³ The Brāhmaṇas consider feeding a guest as meritorious as worshipping God Himself⁴ and prescribe that a great goat or a barren cow should be killed for a distinguished guest.⁵

Next to hospitality much emphasis was laid on purity of food, as the Vedic Indians were of opinion that proper mental make up of a person depended on the purity of food.⁶ Practice of washing the mouth before taking meals and after meals was common.⁷ Leavings of food were not taken except in a dire calamity.⁸ Friends could, however, even partake of drinks from the same cup.⁹ The food cooked by a woman in her

¹ य भाधाय चकमानाय पितॄोऽन्नवान्तव् रक्षितादोऽजग्मये ।

स्थिरं मनः कृष्टे सेवते पुरोतोचित्स मदितारं न विन्दते ।

Rv. X. 117. 2.

मोर्धमशं विगदते प्रथमेताः तत्वं ब्रह्मीमि वष इत्ततस्य ।

नार्यमणं पुर्वति नो सक्षात् केवलादोभवति केवलादी ।

Rv. X. 117. 6.

² स य एवं विवात् द्विवश्नीवाद् द्विवतोऽन्नमश्नीवाद् मीमांसितस्य त मीमांसमानस्य ।

Av. IX. 6. 24.

³ धृत् पुरा परिवेष्ट् सादमाहरन्ति पुरोऽन्नवेष्ट ती ।

यदशत् कृत् हृष्टन्ति हृषिष्कृतमेव तद् द्वयन्ति ।

Av. IX. 6. 13.

Also see Sat. Bra. VII. 3. 2. 1, Ait. Ar. I. 1. 1. Tait. Up. I. 2. 2, III. 10.

⁴ यत् यदातिष्ठेन यजते विष्णुमेव देवता यजन्ते ।

Sat. Bra. XII. 1. 3. 4.

⁵ Sat. Bra. III. 4. 1. 2. See Chap. II, p. 16, f. n. 4.

⁶ माहारलुदी सत्पशुद्धिः सत्पशुद्धी धुवास्मृतिः स्मृतिलभ्ये सर्वप्राणीतो विप्रमोक्षः

Chand. Up. VII. 26. 2.

⁷ तविवादेऽस श्रोतिवा अशिष्यन्त माचामन्त्यशित्वा चामल्येत्प्रेत तदनन्तरं कुरुन्तो मन्त्वन्ते ।

Brahad. Up. VI. 1. 14.

गहो वाच कि मे वासो भविष्यतीत्योप इति होच्युस्तस्मद्वा एतदिष्यन्तः पुरस्तात्मो-परिष्टात्माद्वा परिद्वयति तस्मुकोह वातो मवत्य नग्नोह भवति ।

Chand. Up. V. 2. 2.

⁸ न लिंदेतेऽन्युच्छिष्टा इति न वा अजीविष्यमित्वा खादयिति हो वाच कामो न उद-पात्र निति ।

Chand. Up. I. 10. 4.

⁹ वीत्वा यं राति शवेत तस्मा एतां प्रयच्छेत्तद्वि मित्रस्य रूपं मित्र एवैतां तदन्ततः तिष्ठापयति तथाप हि निवे प्रतितिष्ठति

Ait. Bra. VIII. 8.

courses was considered impure.¹ Milk of a cow was not used for ten days after she had calved.² Even the entrails of a dog, however, could be taken in a dire necessity.³

In the Brāhmaṇas we find some traces of the idea of pollution of food by contact with persons of low caste. People refuse to dine with Kavāṣa because he was the son of a maid servant.⁴ A Kṣatriya loses his caste by dining with members of other castes.⁵ In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa even a Sūdra is given a place in the Soma sacrifice⁶ but the Kāthaka Saṁhitā does not allow a Sūdra to milk a cow whose milk was to be used in a sacrifice.⁷ Dining with non-Aryans was considered a sin.⁸ Vedic Indians used to recite a prayer to food before they took their meals.⁹ They also made offerings to gods before they began eating newly ripened corn as a token of gratitude to them for enabling them to enjoy the produce of a new crop.¹⁰

Moderation in food is advised from very early times. It is said that if a person took his food only twice a day he would be so wise, and intelligent that his sayings would never fail.¹¹

¹ तस्या प्रसमद्यात् ।

Tait. Sam. II. 5. 1. 5-6.

तदाहृये प्राहितानिर्वदि सूतकाङ्गं प्रारनीयात्का तत्र प्रायरिचितिरिति ।

Ait. Bra. VII. 9.

² तस्माद् वस्त्राजाते दश रात्रीन् दुष्टान्ति ।

Tait. Bra. II. 1. 1. III. 1. 3.

³ See Chapt. II. (p. 17, f. 0. 4), RV. IV. 18. 13.

⁴ Kaus. Bra. XII. 3.

⁵ Ait. Bra. VII. 29.

⁶ तत्वारो वै वर्णः । वाहृणो राजन्यो शूद्रो न हृतेषामेकाश्चन भवति यः सोमं वर्मति स मद्देषेषामेकाश्चत् स्यात् स्यादेव प्रायरितिः ।

Sat. Bra. V. 5. 4. 49.

⁷ दोष्वल्पमेवेति न शूद्रो दुष्टादसतो वा ।

Kath. Sam. XXXI. 2.

⁸ Panc. Bra. XVII. 1. 9. XII. 3.

⁹ स्वादो पितो भृषी पितो वर्त्त्वा वर्वमहे । प्रस्त्राकमविताभवः ।

RV. I. 187. 2.

¹⁰ तदाहृये शाहृत्वानि रायप्रयत्नेनानिष्ट्वा नवाङ्गं प्रारनीयात् का तत्र प्रायरिचितिरिति ।

Ait. Bra. VII. 29.

¹¹ न भवत्पूर्वं हि कृत्वा मेवति तस्माद् सार्यं प्रातराश्वेत् स्यात् ।

Sat. Bra. II. 4. 2. 6.

तस्माद् किं रहो मनुष्येभ्य उपकृत्वे ।

Tait. Bra. II. 4. 2. 6.

People observed a fast whenever they performed some sacrifice.¹

We can also form some idea of the rules of etiquette. From a simile in the R̄gveda we learn that the Vedic Indians took their meals in a sitting posture.² Men avoided taking meals with their wives³ and women, generally, did not take their food in the presence of male members.⁴

Students were expected to go out to beg food for it was supposed that the practice created a sense of humility in them.⁵ We also find the beginnings of some taboos in the Sāmhitās. The use of exudation of trees (*niryāta*) was forbidden on account of its red colour.⁶ *Māṣa* pulse was forbidden probably because it was considered exotic.⁷

From a passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa we learn that *Soma* juice was considered a proper drink for Brāhmaṇas, curds for Vaiśyas, water for Sūdras and a juice extracted from the roots of *Nyagrodha* and fruits of *Udumbara*, *Alvattha* and *Piakṣa* for Kṣattriyas.⁸ This shows that the four castes had their own favourite drinks.

To sum up the food habits of the Aryans seem to have been affected considerably by their contact with the non-Aryans who

¹ तदाहुर्यदर्शपूर्णभास्योऽप्यवसति च ह या अवतस्य देवा हविरखन्ति तस्मादुपवसत्यनुभवेदेवा हविरखन्ति युरिति ।

Ait. Bra. VII. 11.

Also see Sat. Bra. II. 1. 4. 1.

² नि पर्वता अथसदी न सेदुः ।

Rv. VI. 30. 5.

³ तस्माज्जायाया भान्ते नाश्नीकादीर्यवान् हास्माज्जायावते ।

Sat. Bra. X. 5. 2. 9.

⁴ तस्मादिष्मा मानुष्य स्त्रियस्तिर इवंपुंसो विषत्सन्ति या इष्टु ता इवेति ह स्माह यात्रवल्लयः ।

Sat. Bra. I. 9. 2. 12.

⁵ Gopatha, Bra. I. 2. 1-8.

⁶ परिषूत अ॒ शुणां तृतीयं वृह्णित्यावै प्रत्यगुङ्गनृत्यं निवस्तोऽभवत्समा निर्यतिस्मानाशयम् ।

Tait. Sam. II. 5. 1. 5.

⁷ See Chapter II. (p. 12, f. n. 3.)

⁸ स यदि सोमं ब्राह्मणानां स भक्षी ब्राह्मणस्तेन भक्षेण जिन्विष्यति ।

प्रथ यदि दधि वैश्यानानां स भक्षी वैश्यस्तेन भक्षेण जिन्विष्यति ।

अथ यथापः शूद्रानां स भक्षी शूद्रास्तेन भक्षेण जिन्विष्यति ।

अथास्यैष स्वो भक्षी न्यग्रोष्टस्यावरोधाद्य फलानि चौदुमदराज्वाशवत्थानि चलाक्षाण्यं विष्णुयात्तानि भक्षयेत् सोऽस्य स्वो भक्षी ।

Ait. Bra. VII. 29.

were the makers of the Indus civilization. Probably wheat and rice became a part of their dietary only after this contact, as there is no mention of these cereals in the Rgveda. Fish was also included in the articles of food by the time of the Yajurveda. The use of oil as a cooking medium seems to have been borrowed by the Aryans from the non-Aryans. *Soma* juice was widely used in the beginning but towards the end of the period, when it became difficult to obtain the plant, some substitutes were used.

APPENDIX A:

[Page 27, f. n. 4]

1. *Uttkha*—(a mortar) Rv. I. 28. 6., Av. X. 9. 26. XI. 3. 3., XII. 3. 13., Tait. Sam. V. 2. 8. 7. VII. 2. 1. 3., Sat. Bra. I. 1. 4. 6.
2. *Vanasparī*—(a pestle) Tait. Sam. VI. 2.8.4., Av. IX. 3.11. Later it was called *Masala* Av. IX. 6. 11. X. 9. 26. etc., Tait. Sam. I. 6.8.3., Sat. Bra. XII. 1.2.7., Jaim. Bra. I. 42. 44.
3. *Tikau*—(a sieve)—Rv. X. 71. 2.
4. *Dhvātī*—(a blower) Rv. V. 9.5.
5. *Ghārma*—(a pot for heating milk)—Rv. III. 5.3.14., V. 30.15. etc., Vaj. Sam. VIII. 6t., Av. 73.6., Ait. Bra. I. 18.22.
6. *Parana*—(a vessel for cooking food)—Rv. I. 162. 6., Sat. Bra. VI. 5.4. 3., XIV. 1.2.21. etc.
7. *Ukhā*—(a cooking pot)—It was generally made of clay. (Tait. Sam. IV. 1.4.). Its hooks were called *Arka* (Rv. I. 162.13.). Rv. I. 162. 13. etc., Tait. Sam. V. 1.63., Vaj. Sam. XL 59., Av. XII. 3.23.
8. *Cera*—A cauldron which was heated on fire. (Rv. VII. 104.2). It had a cover (*apīdhāna* Rv. I. 162.2). Later it was made of iron or bronze (Sat. Bra. XIII. 5.4.5.), Rv. I. 7.6., VII. 104.2., Av. IV. 7.4., IX. 5.4., Kath. Sam. V. 6., Maits. Sam. I. 4.4.9., Tait. Sam. I. 6.12.1., Sat. Bra. IV. 7. 41., Ait. Bra. I. 1.
9. *Ladles*:
 - Jabu*—Rv. I. 145.3., VIII. 43. 10., X. 21.3.
 - Upasenani*—Rv. X. 21. 2., X. 20.10.
 - Sruva*—Bṛh. Up. III. 9. 18., VI. 3. 13.
 - Sruva*—Rv. V. 41. 12., Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 21., Av., V. 27.3., IX. 6. 17.
 - Dornī*—(wooden ladle) Rv. X. 103. 10., V. 6. 9.
10. *Pieces of stone used for pressing Soma*.
 - Grāvan*—Rv. X. 76. 94., 76. 175.
 - Adri*—Rv. X. 175. 3., IX. 11.3.
11. *A piece of stone used for pounding rice*.
 - Dṛḍad*—Rv. VII. 104. 22., VIII. 72.4., Av. II. 31.1., Sat. Bra. I. 1.1. 22. etc.
12. *Strainers*:
 - Pavitrā*—(a strainer made of sheep's wool)—Rv. IX. 6. 3., IX. 37. 1., IX. 109. 36., Av. IV. 124. 3., IX. 6. 16. etc.
 - Kārotara*—Rv. I. 116. 7., Vaj. Sam. XIX. 16., Sat. Bra. XXII. 9. 1., Kaus. Bra. II. 7.
13. *Vessels used for storing Soma juice*:
 - Amatra*—Rv. II. 14. 1., V. 51.4., VI. 42. 2., X. 29. 7.
 - Āvattha*—(made of wood) Rv. I. 135. 8.
 - Ābaya*—Rv. I. 34. 8., VI. 7. 2., X. 101.3. etc.

Kata—Rv. III. 32. 13., IV. 17.6, etc.

Dru—Rv. I. 161. 1., V. 86. 3. etc.

Kalasa—Rv. I. 117. 12., IV. 27. 1. 22., XI. 39. etc.

Tait. Sam. I. 1. 8. 1., Vaj. Sam. I. 22., XI. 39. etc.

Camu—Rv. VIII. 2. 82., IX. 20.6., IX. 62. 16. etc.

Dropa—(a wooden tub) Rv. VI. 1. 8. IX. 28. 4. IX. 98. 27. etc.

14. *Drinking cups*:

Patra—Av. IV. 17. 4., VI. 142. 1., Tait. Sam. V. 1. 6. 2.

Camam—Rv. I. 20. 6., X. 16. 8., Vaj. Sam. XXII. 13.

Av. VII. 73. 3., Sat. Bra. VII. 2. 11. 2. etc.

Graba—Rv. X. 114. 3.

Kapisa—a cup made of metal. Av. X. 10. 5., Alt. Bra. VIII. 10. etc.

15. *Kumbha*—A pitcher generally made of clay.

Rv. I. 166. 7., VII. 33. 13., Av. IX. 5. 5. etc.

16. *Udakenna*—A bucket for drawing water.

Rv. V. 44. 13., Alt. Bra. VII. 32., Sat. Bra. IV. 3. 5. 21.

17. *Dṝpa*—A leather bag for holding milk.

Rv. V. 83. 9., VIII. 5. 19. Tait. Sam. I. 8. 19. 1., Vaj. Sam. XXVI. 18., Av. VII. 18. Panc. Bra. V. 10.2.

18. *Sāla*—A spit used for roasting flesh.

Rv. I. 162. 11., Sat. Bra. XI. 4. 2. 4., Chand Up. VII. 15.3. etc.

19. *Sādbhī*—A knife to dissect the sacrificial animal.

Rv. I. 162. 13., I. 18. 10.

Sānd—A knife. Rv. I. 162. 13.

20. *Āstana*—A vessel for holding liquids.

Rv. I. 162. 13., Sat. Bra. II. 1. 9. 3.

21. *Atigāravakṣayapa*—Tongs Brh. Up. III. 9. 18.

22. *Dhāttra*—A fan generally made of the skin of a deer with a handle made of bamboo or Udumbara wood. Tait. Ar. V. 9.2., Sat. Bra. IX. 3. 1. 20.

23. *Sūrpa*—A wicker work basket for winnowing.

Av. IX. 6. 16., X. 9. 26., Tait. Sam. I. 6. 8. 3. etc.

24. *Sthūli*—A cooking pot usually of clay. Av. VIII. 6. 17., Tait. Sam. VI. 5. 10. 5., Vaj. Sam. XIX. 86, Alt. Bra. I. 11. 8.

25. *Pitila*—A wooden dish. Sat. Bra. II. 5.5.6.

26. *Upamānthañī*—a churning stick. Brh. Up. VI. 3. 13.

27. *Sārāna*—A cup usually of clay. Tait. Bra. I. 3. 4. 5., Sat. Bra. V. 1.4.2.2.

28. *Nīmātya*—A water jar which was buried in the ground. Sat. Bra. III. 9. 28.

29. *Parīśāta*—An instrument to lift the kettle off the fire. Sat. Bra. XIV.

I. 3. 1. etc.

CHAPTER III
FOOD AND DRINKS
(800 B.C. TO 300 B.C.)

In this chapter an attempt has been made to make a survey of the food habits of Indians during the period C. 800 B.C. to C. 300 B.C. But the chapter has been divided into two sections, one describing the picture as presented by the Sūtra literature and the other by early Buddhist and Jain works. It is necessary because the authors of Sūtra literature had different ideals in respect of food and occupied a different region from that of the Buddhists or the Jains. The Sūtras represent the Brahmanical point of view. In the Buddhist and Jain works we have a tradition which is non-Brahmanical if not exactly Kṣatriya as contended by Pargiter and some other writers.

SECTION I (THE SŪTRAS)

CEREALS AND PULSES

Of the food grains barley and rice continued to be the most important. The daily offerings to the gods consisted of barley from the barley harvest till the rice harvest and of rice from the rice harvest till the barley harvest.¹ An inferior variety of barley is also mentioned in addition to common barley.²

¹ वाणियदृणप्रभूति त्रीहिमिवेदी हृत्तेनेते यावृती जहोति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 6. 21.

स्वयन्त्वेवाशस्यादेव वलिदृष्टे हृत्ते पवेष्योऽव्यादीहिम्यः त्रीहिम्योऽव्यायवेष्यः, स त्वाशस्यो नाम वलिभवति ।

Gobhila Gr. Su. I. 4. 28.

वीहिम्प्रभूत्यायवेष्यो पवेष्यो वाग्नीहिम्यः स्वयं हृत्ते स्वयं हृत्ते ।

Khadira Gr. Su. I. 5. 40.

² *Yoga*—Pāṇini V. 1.7., V. 2. 3., Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7. 16. 22. Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3, Manava Gr. Su. I. 11.2, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 9.6, Khadira Gr. Su. I. 5. 39.

Yavāṇī (inferior variety of barley) Pāṇini IV. 1. 49.

The old preparations of barley were in common use:—

Dhāmāṭ (Parched barley grains) Asv. Sr. Su. U. VI. 8, Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.6., 1.7; Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 3.6, Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 37.

Some new preparations are mentioned by Pāṇini. Barley gruel (*Yavāgū*) was a favourite food of the people residing in the Alwar-Bikaner region.¹ It had two varieties one of which was licked and the other was drunk.² *Yavaka* was prepared by pounding barley with pestle and mortar to remove the chaff and then boiling the pearl grain in water or milk.³ Wheat had not yet become very popular as it is not mentioned in the Sūtras.

Besides barley, rice seems to be common. A fine variety of rice, *Sālī*⁴ is distinguished from the ordinary variety *Vṛībī*.⁵ These two varieties had many subkinds.⁶ Pāṇini mentions two fine varieties one of which ripened in sixty days and the other was grown on the banks of the river Devikā.⁷ Boiled rice was taken with curds, honey, meat and milk. It was also cooked with pulses.⁸ Parched rice, *Apāpa*, *Pṛībuka*, *Kṛṣṇa* and *Pnro-*

Karambha (Parched barley flour with clarified butter or curds) Asv. Sr. Su. II. 8, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 3. 6, Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5. 17. 19, Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 37.

Sakīn (Parched barley meal) Pāṇini VI. 3. 39, Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5. 17. 19, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7. 22, Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 37.

¹ Pāṇini IV. 2.136, Asv. Sr. Su. II. 3, Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 7.20.

Sālī—Alwar-Bikaner Region (Pāṇini (H), p. 121).

² *Uṣṇībī* (Pāṇini V. 2.7.) was a *peya* variety while *Nakṣambharī* was the one which was licked, because it scorched the fingers' ends. (Pāṇini III. 2.34).

³ Pāṇini IV. 3.25.

⁴ Pāṇini V. 2.2. *Sālī* was grown in winter while *Vṛībī* was grown in autumn. See Chapter V (7).

Rice was probably the staple food grain in the south as it was exported to Babylon in the 6th century B.C. The Greek word for rice *Oryzē* is from the Tamil word *Arini*. T. R. Sesha Iyengar—The Ancient Dravidians, p. 156

⁵ Kh. Gr. Su. I. 5. 39, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 9.6, Ap. Dlt. Su. II. 7.16.22, Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3., Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 6.21, Mansv. Gr. Su. I. 15.2.

It is not white when husked according to the Bhāvaprakāśa.

⁶ *Kṛṣṇavṛībī* was black rice (Karya. Sr. Su. XV. 5.14.)

Mahāvṛībī was a fine variety (Pāṇini VI. 2.38).

Hṛīvā (red rice) (Pāṇini III. 1.48).

Yavaka—A variety of rice (Pāṇini V. 4.3.)

⁷ *Sāgīkā*—Pāṇini V. 1.90.

षष्ठिकाः षष्ठिरात्रेण पच्यन्ते ।

देविकासिंशपादित्यवाहृदीपर्वत थेयसामात् ।

दाविकाकूलाः पालयः ।

Pāṇini VII. 3. 1.

⁸ *Odana*—Asv. Sr. Su. II. 3, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 3.3, Pāṇini IV. 4.67.

Bhākṣa (boiled rice)—Pāṇini IV. 4. 10.

Payodana—नामित्राम् पयोदनं दत्त्वा ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 8.2.

data were very popular.¹ Probably cakes made of powdered rice were called *Piyakas*.² Some inferior cereals such as wild

Rice taken with curds, honey or clarified butter

अदौदनं दधा मधुना वृत्तेनाद्विरिति तमुदायुत्य हिरण्यैषधस्य कुमारं प्राप्तयति ।
Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 3.5.

अदौदनं तेजस्कामः ।

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 14. 4.

Kṣīrandana (with milk) and *Sūpandana* (with pulses)

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.14.

Majhāndana (rice cooked with meat) Pāṇini IV. 4.67.

¹ *Lōjap* (fried rice grains) were used at the time of marriage in the Sūtra period.

Manav. Gr. Su. I. 11.11, Gobh. Gr. Su. VII. 3.6, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 4.36, I. 16.34.

अद्याद्या अज्ञवलावुपस्तीर्यं तस्यास्तोदयोः द्विलिङ्गिनावपति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 4.23.

सकृद् गृहीतमञ्जिति लाजानां वल्लञ्जलावाचपेत् भातात् ।

Khadir Gr. Su. I. 3.19.

धानः कारनः परिवापः मुरोदाक्षः एवस्येति तेषां यद्यक्तमर्थीरस्ततद्विष्णुलक्षणेषुः ।

अन्यान्यां पश्चात् भवानामूलफलेभ्यः । एतेन वर्णयेतुः पशुना च ।

Asv. Sr. Su. II. 6.8.

Parched rice flour (*Manīśa*) was taken with curds, honey and water (Pāṇini VI. 3.60).

हर्षीव्यापादपेदोदनं कुरुते पायसं दधिमन्थान् मधुमन्थांश्च ।

Asv. Gr. Su. II. 5.3.

Apīpa—Pāṇini also mentions *Apīpas* in which wheat flour fried in clarified butter and mixed with sugar was used as stuffing (*Cerepīdī apīpāpā*). Pāṇini IV. 4.23, Kh. Gr. Su. III. 29.

ओदनं कुरुते पायसां । चतुः शरावस्य दायुपान् । उदीर्णामवर उदीर्णाद्य इत्यप्याभिर्वृत्ता ।

Asv. Gr. Su. II. 4.4.

अपूर्वधानाकरमनसकृद्यटकैत्यपायसाकानि शुभतानि वर्णयेत् ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 29.

Prībhūka

लोका अपूर्वपूर्वाय पहाराद्य दत्तवा नमस्कृत्य ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 16.34.

काणितपृष्ठकृतः द्वुलकरम्भभलजसकृत्याकामोहपिष्टक्षीरविकारीषिवनस्तिमूलकलवर्जम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 3.17.19.

Kṛṣṇa—(Preparation of rice and sesamum)

It was given to a barber. Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 4.4.

तिलतण्डुलमन्यनः कृसरः

Commentator on Kh. Gr. Su. II. 2.27.

कृसरो नापिताम् ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 9.7.

Parodāśa—Asv. Sr. Su. II. 6.8.

अतुङ्गमनपूर्णकृति कूर्मस्येवं प्रतिकृतिमशवशफलात्रं करोति ।

Ap. Sr. Su. I. 23.4.

¹ Pāṇini IV. 3. 147.

rice (*Nivara*, *Priyanigu* and *Syāmāka*) were eaten by foresters.¹ Of the pulses besides *Māsa*, *Mudga* and *Kulattha* (horsegram) had come into use.² Of the pulse preparations the most common was a soup (*Sāpa*). Small round cakes (*Vajaka*) were also prepared.³ *Kulmāsa* continued to be eaten by poor people and ascetics.⁴

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Besides food grains cow's milk and its products were in common use.⁵ Cows as now, were milked in the morning and

¹ *Priyanigu*—(panic seeds) Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 3.
Nivara—Pāṇini III. 3.48.

Syāmāka—Gobb. Gr. Su. III. 7.22, Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.

² *Māsa*—Pāṇini V. 1.7, V. 2.4, Gobb. Gr. Su. II. 6.6.

In a Śrāddha—

तत्र द्रव्याणि लिलमात्राद्वैहियवा ग्रापो मूलकलानि ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.16.23.

In the ceremony of tonsure

उत्तरतोऽन्ने ग्रीहित्यवामाषतिलानागृहकपूर्णशरावाणि निदधाति

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3.

यदा ग्राहकस्तद्वलादयामोकामृद्दन मेव च चलकाश्चिलमात्राश्च कमारू
 खिष्येत् ।

Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.

Mudga—Pāṇini IV. 4.15, Pan. Gr. Su. I. 15.4, Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.

Casaka—Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.

Kulattha—It was avoided by a man observing a vow (Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.18.2.)

Ādabaki—Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.

³ *Sāpa*—Pāṇini VI. 2.118.

Vajaka—(small round balls prepared with pulses).

ग्रापूष वाना करमन सक्तु बटक तेत्र पावस चाकानि दृक्षाणि वज्येत् ।

Yas. Dh. Su. XIV. 29.

⁴ *Kulmāsa*—(Ghughri in Hindi) (some inferior grain boiled with a little water, gūḍa and oil) Pāṇini V. 2.83.

⁵ *Gavya* or *Pajayya*—(Pāṇini IV. 3.160).

Pajayā (Milk)—Gobb. Gr. Su. I. 7.20, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.7.

Dādābī (curds)—Gobb. Gr. Su. I. 7.20, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.7., Asv. Gr. Su. IV. 1.13.

Nauṇīta—(Butter) Ap. Gr. Su. I. 15.9.

उत्पूतेन नवनीतेन नृत्पूतेन वा सर्पिणा स्थानीयाकमनिषाये एकस्तदायां भेदणमात्राय स्थानीयाकमात्राद्वयति ।

Ap. Gr. Su. I. 3.7.8.

Haiyāṅgavīma (butter churned from the curds of previous day's milk)—Pan. V. 2.23.

Sarpi—(Clarified butter) Indians seem to be fond of preparations mixed with clarified butter.

in the evening.¹ Milk of a pregnant cow, a cow in heat, and one which suckled the calf of another cow was forbidden. Beastings were as before not taken for the first ten days.² Besides, milk-rice which continued to be popular, a favourite preparation of curds was *peyayid*. Some fragrant spices and crystal sugar were used in its³ preparation.⁴ Preparations mixed with ghee seem to have been greatly relished.⁵

MEAT DIET

The writers of the Sūtras consider it meritorious to kill an ox or a goat to feed a distinguished guest.⁶ Flesh of various

नैव्यमिकं तु धार्कं स्नेहवदेव दद्यात् । १३।

सर्विमैसमिति प्रथमः कल्पः । १४।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19, 17, 18.

स्नेहवति त्वेवावत्ते पितृणां तीव्रतात् प्रीतिर्दर्शीयांसं च कालम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.16, 24.

Gobh. Gr. Su. 1.7.20, Asv. Gr. Su. IV. 1.13, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.7, II. 1.7, 1.18.

¹ सायं दीहमाहूत्य प्रातर्वोह च अपयित्रा ।

Katya. Sr. Su. IV. 2.38.

² हृष्टेलकं पयः । उष्ट्रीकीरमूर्गीश्चिरसन्विनीश्चिरत्यपमशुक्लीराणीति । वेनोत्त्वानिदं-
शाचाः ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5. 17, 22-24.

Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 5.12, 9-12, Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 24. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 54-55.

³ *Peyayid* (milk rice)—Kh. Gr. Su. III. 1.38, IV. 2.18, Manav. Gr. Su. I. 9.22.

Peyayid means a mixture of curds and clarified butter in this period.

दधन्यत लापिरानमन्त्येतत् गिर्व्ये पूषदाज्यम्

Asv. Gr. Su. IV. 1.13.

Peyayid—Asv. Sr. Su. VI. 8. See F.D.A.I., p. 16.

⁴ See p. 37, f. n. 5.

⁵ Pāṇini also refers to meat in IV. 4.35 and IV. 4.67. He calls a guest *gṛhīta* i.e. a person for whom a cow was killed (III. 4.73). Roasted meat was eaten (*śākyā* IV. 2. 17).

नामासीं भयुक्तो भवति भवति ।

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 21.28.

नरेवामासाऽप्यवस्थात् । अशवतो गिष्टांशं संसिद्ध्येत् ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2. 53-54.

अथापि ब्राह्मणाय वा राजन्याय वाम्यांगताय वा महीकां वा महाराजं वा पचेदेवमस्याति-
त्यं कुर्वन्तीति ।

Vas. Dh. Su. IV.

Cf. Sankh. Gr. Su. II. 15.2, Ap. Dh. Su. II. 3.74, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.53.

birds is prescribed even for a child at the time of its first feeding.¹ Meat preparations were common in a *Śrāddha*, but if one could not afford meat one was allowed to use vegetables.² Many animals continued to be killed at sacrifices and their meat was partaken by the sacrificers.³ The archaeological evidence also shows that humped bull, buffalo, and sheep were slaughtered for food.⁴

The notion of clean and unclean meat was well developed in the Sūtras. It is laid down that one should not take meat which has been cut with a sword.⁵ Eating flesh of a dog, a man, a village cock, a boar and a carnivorous animal is consi-

¹ भारद्वाजपामाडेसेन वाचवत्तरेकामस्य । कर्णिजलमाडेसेनाश्चकामस्य । मत्सैर्जन्यन् कामस्य । कुकुपाया आयुष्कामस्य । आद्या द्राह्यवर्चसकामस्य । सर्वे तर्वकामस्य । ग्रन्थ पर्याय वा ततो शाहृणभोजनमन्नपर्याय वा ततो शाहृण भोजनम् ।

Paraskara Gr. Su. I. 19.7-13.

भाजमन्नाशकामः । तैतिर वह्यवर्चसकामः । चूतौरन् तेजस्कामः । दधिमधुशूद्ध-मित्रमन्नं प्राशयेत् अन्नपतेऽन्नस्य दीदिहि अनमीवस्य शुद्धिः द्विपदे चतुर्पदे हत्ति । Asv. Gr. Su. I. 14.2-6

² दधिमीसचिति प्रथमः कल्पः । अभावे तेलशाकमिति ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19. 18-19.

हंवत्सरं गव्येन प्रीतिः । भूषासमतो भाविष्येण ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7-16 26-27.

खड्गोपस्तरपेणखड्गं कोसेनानन्तरं कात्तम् । १। तथा यत्वलेपंत्वस्य पासेन । वाप्रो-गसन्नव च ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.17 1-3.

खड्गमृगमहिषमेपवराहृपुलशशरोहित वाङ्ग्नितिरित्यानेतकपिञ्जलेत्याधर्णितानामक्षम्य तित्वमधुमसुष्टुम् । तथा मत्स्यस्य शतवलैः कीरोदनेन सूपोदनेन वा ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.13-14

नियुक्तस्तु यदा वा देवे वा मांसमुत्सृजेत् ।

वाशिति पशुरोमाणि तावन्नरकमृड्डिः ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XI. 31.

³ पृथग् मांसं चौदानं चापूपांश्च धर्यन्त्यन्यांश्च भक्षयिषेदान् ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.15.

वर्हिरादाद गत्युपाकरोति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 7.4.

शश ददि गो न लभते मेषगजं वाऽत्तभेते ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 7.16.

Cf. Kh. Gr. Su. III. 4, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 10.16, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.31, Hiran. Gr. Su. II. 15.1, Vaikhaṇasa. IV. 3, Asv. Gr. Su. IV. 9.10, Sankh. Sr. Su. IV. 17.1, V. 15.1.

⁴ Excavations at Hastinapur (1930-32) Ancient India No. 10 and 11. (1934 and 1935) by Sri B. B. Lal, pp. 113-117.

⁵ हिंसार्थनालिना मौर्य शिखमभोज्यम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.16.

dered a sin.¹ The meat of one hooved animals, of camels, of *gavāla*, of village pigs, locusts, of cattle, of animals having a double row of teeth or excessive hair or of those which have no hair and eating of fish was forbidden.²

But in times of distress even unclean meat was permitted if only to save life. The general feeling of the time about meat eating seems to be that it should be used in extending hospitality to guests, as offering to gods and manes but animals should not be killed otherwise.³ No doubt on these occasions the house-holders partook of the meat preparations, and of these occasions there were many.

SWEETS

Honey was extensively used in many ceremonies in the Sūtra period,⁴ and was invariably used in welcoming guests, the common preparation used for the purpose being a mixture of honey with curds or ghee (*Madhuparka*).⁵ Its use was not

¹ प्रतिविद्वानां मौसमधारणम् । शुनो मनुष्यस्य च कुकुटसूकराणां ग्राम्याणां कव्योदयसम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7. 21. 14-15.

पवकुटकुटग्राम्यसूकरकच्छुगुधभासपारावतम् । नुष्काकोलूकमासादने सत्यारत्वमपवासः ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XXIII 25.

² एकसूरोऽद्यगवयज्ञामहूकरसारभगवाम् । वेन्वनदुहीर्वद्यम् । मेषवधनदुहिति वाज-सनेवकम् । कुकुटो विकिरणाम् । पत्वः प्रतुदाम् । कर्म्यादः । हृतमात्वक्षमाक्षमृणार्दिच । कुच्चन्द-कीज्जवाभ्रणासुलक्षणवर्जनम् । पञ्चनस्तानो गोधाकच्छुपश्चविक्षयकलहृतशापुतिष्ठवर्जनम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.27. 29-37.

इत्यविक्षयकशाशकच्छुपरोधः । पञ्चनस्तानो भक्षयाः । अनुष्ट्रा पश्चामन्वयो दन्ताश्व मत्स्यानां वा चेत्यगवय शिवायुधारतक शुस्तीराविकुतरूपाः । सर्पीश्चित्तिश्च । गौरगवय-पारभासधानुदिध्दा । तथा वेन्वनदुही मैथ्यो वाजसनेवके विज्ञापते । छद्गे तु विवदन्त्यग्राम्य-सूकरे च । शुनानामो च विवृतिक्लिकरजालपादाः । शतविक्षुप्लवहृसवत्रावकभास-वायस पारावतकुटुंडसारकृपाच्छुकपोतकीर्त्तवकरक क्षुगुधश्चेनवक्षलकमदाः । दिद्विभास्त्वाल नक्तंवरदाविष्टाहच्छकरैतातहरीलस्तन्जरीट शाश्वकुटुंडसुकसरिकाकोविलकव्यादा ग्राम-वारिणश्चाप्रामचारिणश्चेति ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 30-37.

Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 5.12.3., Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 16-31.

³ मध्यपके च यज्ञे च पितृवैतकर्मणि ।

अवैद पश्चात्रो हिस्यान्त्रान्यवैत्यवीत्यनुः ।

Vas. Dh. Su. IV. 6.

Cf. Viṣṇu Dh. Su. IV. 6, Śāṅkh. Gr. Su. II. 16. 1.

⁴ Ap. Dh. Su. I. 4.6., Manav. Gr. Su. I. 1., Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 3.23-24, Parask. Gr. Su. II. 5.12, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 117.19-23.

⁵ इवति मध्यानीय सर्पिर्वा भाष्वलाभे ।

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 21.5.

allowed to the students even in this period.¹

Besides honey another source of sweet ingredients was sugarcane.² *Guda*, inspissated juice of sugarcane boiled to thick consistency (*Phārita*) and probably sugar were prepared from it.³ Of new sweet preparations *Pāhala* was prepared with sesamum and *guda* or sugar and *Samyāva* with wheat flour fried in clarified butter, and mixed with milk and *guda*. Sometimes cardamom, pepper and ginger were added to make it more tasteful⁴. Ears of barley or wheat were parched and beaten with a pestle and after being cleaned were mixed with *guda* to make *abbhūṣa*.⁵ Sweets called *Svastika*, *Modaka* and *Nandyāvarta* are also mentioned.⁶

SALTS AND SPICES

For the purposes of seasoning food in addition to salt⁷ some other spices such as long pepper, black pepper and asafoetida were used.⁸ Saline preparations were not allowed to students,

¹ न गच्छाद्यै से प्राप्तीवात् ।

Manava. Gr. Su. I. 1.12.

अगच्छमोत्ताशी स्पात् ।

Kh. Gr. Su. II. 5.11.

Cf. Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 3.23-24, Paras. Gr. Su. II. 5. 12, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 117, 19-23.

² Sugarcane plantations (*Ikṣupāna*) are mentioned. Pāṇini VIII. 4.1.

³ *Guga*—Pan. IV. 4.10, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 16.11.

Phārita—(Inspissated juice of sugarcane boiled to thick consistency)

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17-19.

⁴ The old preparations in common use were :

Apīpa—See p. 36, f. n. 1 above

Kṣura—See p. 36, f. n. 1 above

Pāvura—See p. 36, f. n. 1 above

Pāhala—Pan. VI. 2.133.

Samyāva—Cūtma in Hindi (Pan. III. 3.23.)

⁵ *Abbhūṣa*—is mentioned in the *Apāpādāmarga* in Pāṇini.

⁶ Manav. Gr. Su. II. 6.4.

⁷ अथार तवणं मूज्जना ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 49.

⁸ *Pippali*—(long pepper) Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.12.

It was exported from South India from the earliest times.

The Greek word *peperi* is taken from the Dravidian word *pippali*.

Morris—(black pepper) Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.12.

Hinga—(asafoetida) Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 32-33.

The common words for seasoning were *Upāsana* and *Vyājasa*.

व्याजने रपसिते ।

Pāṇ. IV. 4. 26.

शाकं व्याजनमनवाह्यम् ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. IV. 4.20.

widows and to a newly married couple for three nights.¹

OILS AND OILSEEDS

Sesamum was the most important oil seed² used in Srāddha and other ceremonies.³ Its oil was regarded as a substitute for clarified butter.⁴ Apastamba lays down that a person should avoid oil cakes when observing a vow.⁵ We find mustard mentioned; perhaps its oil may also have been used.⁶

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

The Sūtras do not mention the names of many fruits but fruits formed an essential part of the diet of the Aryans.⁷ Besides the three varieties of jujube,⁸ *udumbara* fruit (Indian fig) and *Sapbaka* (*trapabispinosa*) were the common edible fruits⁹ but Pāṇini also mentions rose apple (*Jambū*)¹⁰ and mango.¹¹

¹ Students—

न मधुमूसे प्राशनीयात् क्षारतवणे च ।

Manava. Gr. Su. I. 1.12.

Widows—

अशार लवणं भृत्याना ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 49.

Newly married couple—

त्रिहरं क्षारतवणे दुष्प्रभिति वर्जयानो राह शर्यायातं प्रह्याप्तारिणी ।

Kh. Gr. Su. I. 4.9.

तत्प्र हविर्भक्षयित्वा यथा सुखमत ऊर्ध्वं मधुमूसे प्राशनीयात् क्षारतवणे च ।

Manav. Gr. Su. I. 2.21.

² Panini V. 1.7, V. 2.4.

³ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7. 16.22, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 9.6, I. 7.20, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.21, Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3, Baudh. Gr. Sesa Su. I. 16-17, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 1.64.

उत्तरतोऽनेद्वै हित्यवापतिलानां पृथक् पूर्णशरावाणि निदप्ताति ।

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3.

तिलाश्याद्वे पवित्रं यदि दानाय यदि भोजनाय, यथापां संसर्जनाय ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 1.64.

⁴ सपिर्मासभिति प्रथमः कल्पः । भ्रमावे तैलशाकभिति ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19. 18-19.

⁵ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.18.1.

⁶ Sankh. Sr. Su. IV. 15.8, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 1.17.

⁷ अन्दाना पश्यान् भक्षानामूलफलेष्यः ।

Asv. Sr. Su. U. VI. 8.8.

⁸ कुवलकं धूबदरचूर्णानि चावपति ।

Kātyāyana Sr. Su. XV. 10.11

⁹ *Udumbara*—Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 22.8.

Sapbaka—Ap. Sr. Su. IX. 14.14.

¹⁰ *Jambū*—(rose apple) Pāṇini IV. 3. 163.

¹¹ *Amra*—(mango). Pan. VIII. 4.5, Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.20.3.

Unripe fruits were called *Satay* (Asv. Gr. Su. I. 12. 4.)

Leafy vegetables¹ were eaten and some of them were cooked. Some roots such as radish and ginger, which aid digestion were munched after meals.² Garlic, onions and leeks were avoided by respectable people.³

INTOXICATING DRINKS

Drinking was common in the days of Pāṇini as he mentions words meaning a vintner, a distillery and liquor.⁴ The ingredients were first formed into a ferment. When the fermentation was complete the ingredients were called *Āsaya*.⁵ The sediment which was left after distillation was called *Viniya*.⁶ From the Sūtras we learn that strong liquor was served to the guests when a person entered a new house,⁷ it was served to women when a bride arrived at the bridegroom's place⁸ and it was served to the wives of forefathers in the Āvasthākya rite.⁹ Women who performed a dance at the time of marriage were also served *Surd*.¹⁰

But the evil effects of drinking were not unknown to the authors of the Dharmasūtras.¹¹ They regard drinking as a heinous crime, and forbid the use of liquors particularly for Brāhmaṇas and students.¹²

¹ *Sāka*—(uncooked leafy vegetables)—Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17-19.

² *Bhūjī*—(cooked vegetables) Pāṇini IV. 1.42.

³ *Śrāṇa* (cooked vegetables) Pan. IV. 4. 67.

⁴ *Upadahīśa*—(Digestive roots) Pāṇini III. 4.47.

⁵ करञ्जपलङ्घुपरारका।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5. 17. 26.

⁶ *Sāṃḍika*—(Vintner) Pāṇini IV. 3.76.

⁷ *Āśet*—(distillery) Pāṇini V. 2.112.

A Sūtra refers to people who could even take the sediment of liquor.

कर्णे हृत्यपिबति।

Pāṇini. I. 4.66.

Maḍya—Pāṇini III. 1. 100.

Surd—Pāṇini II. 4.25.

⁸ Pāṇini III. 1.126.

⁹ Pāṇini III. 1.117.

¹⁰ Paras. Gr. Su. III. 4.9.

¹¹ Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 11.5.

¹² स्त्रीयस्त्वं । सुरामाचामित्यविक्रम् ।

Asv. Gr. Su. II. 5.6-7.

Cf. Parask. Gr. Su. III. 3.11.

¹⁰ Asv. Gr. Su. II. 5.5. Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 11. 5.

¹¹ सर्वं मद्भमणेन।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.21.

Cf. Vas. Dh. Su. I. 20.

¹² मर्यं नित्यं ब्राह्मणः।

Gaut. Dh. Su. II. 25.

Cf. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.21.8.

Besides *Surā*¹ which was generally prepared with barley or rice flour there were some other intoxicating drinks. *Kīlāla* was a sweet drink prepared from cereals.² In the preparation of *Māsara* a mixture of a mess of rice or *Syāmāka* with some spices was allowed to ferment for three days. This mixture was purified with the help of a filter and then used as a beverage.³ A spiced liquor *Maireya* prepared with *Guḍa* or sugar had also come into use.⁴ Wine imported from Kāpiśi (north of Kabul) was known as Kāpiśāyani.⁵ Pāṇini refers to two other varieties of wines *Kālikā* and *Avadātikā*.⁶

Soma juice continued to be used in *Srauta* ritual but is not mentioned in the domestic rites.⁷ This probably means that it was no longer a common drink. The scarcity of the plant may have been one of the reasons as *Ādāra* a substitute is mentioned in the *Āp. Sr. Su. XIV. 24. 12-13.* *Parisruta* was another beverage.⁸ Some decoctions (*Kaṣāya*) of rice meal and flowers were also used as intoxicating beverages.⁹

It appears from the *Gautama Dharma Sūtra* that the Brāhmaṇas were prohibited from drinking any kind of intoxicating drinks.¹⁰ The Kṣattiyas and Vaiśyas could, however, take liquors prepared from honey, *madbūka* flowers and *Guḍa* but not spirituous liquors distilled from flour.¹¹

¹ *Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.21.8, I. 5.17.21, Gaut. Dh. Su. II. 25, Vas. Dh. Su. I. 20.*

² तथा कीलालौपर्वीनां च।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.21.

³ वीहिश्यामाकौदताचामयोः शत्पतोकमलाज ननहृष्टूर्णः संसर्गी मासरम्।

Mahīdhara on Vaj. Sam. XIX. 14.

दक्षिणेन हृत्वा ननहृ चूर्जनि हृत्वा तांवच वीहि श्यामाकौदतयोः पृथगाचामी निविच्य
चूर्णं संसूज्य निदधाति तन्मासरम्

ओदनो चूर्णः मासरः स ३० सूज्य स्वादीं ल्वाचैनुना त इति त्रिरात्रं निदधाति।

Kātya. Sr. Su. XIX. 1. 20-21.

⁴ प्रस्त्रानि भंरेये।

Pāṇini VI. 2.70.

Cf. Manav. Gr. Su. II. 14. 28.

⁵ कापिश्याः पक्षः।

Pāṇini IV. 2. 99.

⁶ *Pāṇini V. 4.3.*

⁷ *Kātya Sr. Su. XIV. 1. 14.*

⁸ *Ibid* and XV 10.9. See F.D.A.I., p. 30. f. no. (159).

⁹ *Pāṇini VI. 2.10.*

¹⁰ *Gaut. Dh. Su. II. 25.*

Cf. Kath. Sam. XII. 12.

¹¹ *History of Dharmaśāstra Vol. II. Part II, p. 795—Kane.*

DRINKING WATER AND OTHER BEVERAGES

Apastamba lays down that it is the duty of the householder and his wife to see that the water vessels in the house are never empty.¹ This shows the importance which was attached to drinking water in this period. It was purified in a filter before use.² Waters from rivers and reservoirs having sweet smell, colour and taste were probably considered good for drinking.

THE ART OF COOKING

The art of cooking³ was well developed. This is clear from the fact that the various stages in the preparation of *Sthālī-pāka* (boiled rice fit for offering) are described in detail. Rice grains were washed by sprinkling water over them, husking them.⁴ They were then cooked with clarified butter. The preparation of *Purodāsa*, *Apūpa*, stuffed *Apūpas*, *Kṛṣṇa* and *Sāmyāva* shows great skill in culinary art. An idea of the size of *Purodāsa* can be had from the fact that it is stated that four cups of ground grains were required to make one cake.⁵ Cooks were sometimes called according to the quantity of food stuff they handled.⁶ A distinction has also been made between solid (*Bhākya*) and liquid food.⁷ Meat, pulse soup and vegetables are regarded as solid foods. Some food stuffs such as *guḍa*, clarified butter and sesame

¹ Āp. Dh. Su. II. 1.1.15.

² उत्तरस्यां पदो वै तसेऽजाऽविलोभपवित्रेण ब्रह्मधारमिति

Kāty. Sr. Su. XIX. 2.12.

³ *Pākī*—Pāṇini III. 3.93.

⁴ अस्तमिते स्थालीवाकं श्रपयित्वैकपालं.....प्रवर्ज्युतः स्पात्।

Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.4-5.

Cf. Asv. Gr. Su. II. 319.

⁵ अतुङ्गमनपूर्णाङ्गिं कूर्मस्येव प्रतिकृतिमश्वदकमात्रं करोति ।

Ap. Sr. Su. I. 25.4.

⁶ प्रादुकचितपात्रात्वोऽन्यतरस्याम् ।

Pāṇini. V. 1.53.

कुलिजाल्लुक्ष्मी च ।

Pāṇini V. 1.55.

⁷ भोजयं भदये ।

Pāṇini VII. 3.69.

भजेण मिश्रीकरणम् ।

Pāṇini II. 1.35.

संस्कृतं भवाः ।

Pāṇini IV. 2.16.

Also see India in Pāṇini (H), pp. 115-116.

were mixed for different dishes.¹ Fried wheat flour was used as a stuffing and salt and curds were mixed with food preparations.²

Some of the common cooking implements were a cooking pot (*sthāli*), a ladle (*Srīva*), and a spoon (*Dārī*).³ Cups (*Sarāvā*) were used for measuring food stuffs and a grind-stone and a mortar were regarded as very important.⁴ Vessels of copper, iron and stone were in common use besides earthenware. Sometimes gold vessels and those made of wood were also used.⁵ A piece of broken jar (*kāpāla*) was used for baking cakes.⁶ The omamentum of a victim was grilled in a vessel (*Vapāśrapāṇi*) and meat was roasted on spits (*Hṛdayaśāla*). An earthen utensil was used only once. If it had to be used again it was fired afresh. Metallic utensils were cleaned with ashes and wooden ones by scraping.⁷

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

In the Sūtras hospitality becomes one of the five daily duties of a householder.⁸ It is considered improper for an Ārya

¹ पतलसूपशारंभित्वे ।

Pāṇini VI. 2.128.

² चूर्णादिति ।

Pāṇini IV. 4.23.

लवणात्तुक् ।

Pāṇini IV. 4.24.

मृदगादण् ।

Pāṇini IV. 4.25.

³ *Sthāli*—Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.5.

Srīva—Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 5.19.

Camara—Manav. Gr. Su. I. 9.6.

Dārī—Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 5.19.

Ukha—(fryingpan) Panini IV. 2.17.

Sārpa—(winnowing basket) Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7.9.

⁴ *Sarāvā*—Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3.

Ulikbala (mortar)—Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7.8.

⁵ Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.1, IV. 3.19, Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17, 9-12 Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 1.7, Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 24.3.

काढँ से थमरे वा दधिमधुचानीय वर्णयिता दिशायाचमनीय प्रथमः प्रतिपादन्ते ।

Manav. Gr. Su. I. 9.6.

⁶ Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7.7., Kh. Gr. Su. III. 3.30, Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.5.

⁷ अनाप्रीते मृत्युये भोवतव्यम् । याप्रीतं चेदभिदग्धे । परिमुष्टं लौहं प्रयतम् । निर्जल-सितम् दारमयम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17, 9-12.

⁸ The five daily duties of a householder were prayer to God (*Brāhma-yajña*), offerings to gods (*Devayajña*), offerings to the spirits of the deceased

to take his meals without offering food to gods, Brāhmaṇas and guests.¹ A preceptor, a sacrificial priest, the father-in-law and a king were considered specially deserving of hospitality² but even a Sūdra guest was to be provided with food. Besides gods, Brāhmaṇas and guests a householder was expected to set apart some food for small creatures.³ New corn was not eaten without making offerings in fire.⁴

Besides hospitality much emphasis was laid on purity of food. Both in the morning and in the evening every respectable person (*Arya*) was expected to take his meals after cleaning his hands, feet and mouth.⁵ The *Sūdras* were expected to shave their hair and beard, pare their nails and bathe before being permitted to cook food for the higher castes.⁶ Grain was well

(*Pitṛyajña*), hospitality to the guests (*Atithiyajña*) and offerings to animals and birds (*Bhūtayajña*).

Asv. Gr. Su. II., III. 1-3, 1-2, Paras. Gr. Su. VI. 1.4.1.

सर्वस्य त्वभस्याऽनी शुद्ध्यात् ब्राह्मणाय दत्ता स्वयं कुर्वत् ।

Kh. Gr. Su. I. 5.39.

¹ न रसात् गृहे भुज्जीतानावयोपनतिष्ठ्यः । नात्मार्थमनिहगनन्तं पाचयेत् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 4.8. 3-5.

C.f. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 19, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 3.5.18.

² याचार्यायत्विने शवशुराय राजा इति परिसंवत्सरादुपतिष्ठदन्व्यो गीर्मच्युक्तन । दधि-
मधु संसृष्टं मधुपक्तः । पयो वा मधुसंसृष्टम् । अभाव उदकम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 4.8. 7-9.

तथैते अर्ध्या कृतिवक्ष्यनुरपितृव्यो मातुलः याचार्यो राजा वा स्नातकः प्रियो वरो-
तिष्ठिरिति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.65.

³ गृहमेधिनोपवदशनीपरस्य होमा बलयश्च स्वर्गपुष्टिसंयुक्ताः ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 2.3.12.

मधुः डपायत्यसंचूतमित्यमन्तं निवेदयति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 10.11.

C.f. Kh. Gr. Su. I.5. 22-23.

⁴ सस्यं नाशनीयादग्निहोत्रमहूत्वा ।

Asv. Sr. Su. II. 9.

⁵ पाणिपादं प्रक्षात्य..... दाम्पतो दक्षिणामुखो भुज्जीत ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.1.

नानुस्पृश्य भोजनं प्रातः । सादमुपसृश्य भोजनमासमिदाधानात् ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 2. 8-9.

भोक्ष्यमाणस्तु प्रथतोऽपि द्विरात्रमेद् दिः परिमृजेत् सकुदुपस्तुतेत् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 3.16.9.

⁶ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 23. 1-6.

washed before being cooked.¹ Food articles which had stood overnight, which had turned sour or which were cooked twice were regarded as unfit for food², probably because they were considered unhygienic. But articles, which did not get spoilt such as roasted rice grains, porridge prepared with curds, roasted barley, groats, vegetables, meat, flour, milk preparations, roots, fruits and herbs could be eaten even the next day.³ To maintain purity of food it was laid down that one should not eat flavoured or prepared food bought from the market, but raw meat, honey, salt, oil or clarified butter could be bought from the market. It is also laid down that one should use unclean oil and ghee after purifying them with the addition of water.⁴ One is also advised not to eat that food in which there is a hair or any other unclean substance, which has been touched by an unclean substance, in which one finds an insect living on impure substance, excrements or limbs of a mouse. Food touched by foot, the hem of a garment, a dog or those persons who are not allowed to eat from one's utensils, brought in the hem of a garment or brought by a maid servant or brought at night was also to be avoided.⁵ Even food brought through a back door is

¹ विष्णुकृतास्तद्बुलाहिदेवेभ्यः प्रशालनेदित्याहुडिमनुष्वेभ्यः सकृत् पितॄन्य इति ।
Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 7.5.

Cf. Kh. Gr. Su. II. 10-12.

² कृताद्यं पर्युपितमलाद्यमरेयाभावम् । शुक्तं च, शुक्तं चापरयोगम् ।
Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 17-20.

Cf. Gaur. Dh. Su. XVII. 14-16. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 28-29.

³ काणितपृथुक्तं दृक्कारथमभरणलक्ष्यं, शाकमांसं पिण्डक्षीर्विकारौषधिवनस्तिमूलफल-कर्म ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 19.

Cf. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 3.7-38, Manu. V. 25, V. 10, V. 24, Yaj. I. 16.7-68.

⁴ लाप्यीयमद्दीप्तात् । लापारसानाममांसमधुक्ववणानीति परिहृष्य । दृक्कृपिष्ठी तूपयोजये-दुकेवयाप ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 14-16.

The process of separating impurities from clarified butter by the addition of cold water is followed to this day.

Cf. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 26.

⁵ यस्मिंश्चान्ने वैषाः स्थात् । ग्रन्थद् वामेध्यम् । ग्रन्थद्यैर्वमृष्टम् । कीटो वामेध्यसेवी ।
मूषकलाङ्गो वा । पदा वोषहृतम् । तिचा वा । शूना वामपाश्रेण वा दृष्टम् । तिचा वोषहृतम् ।
दास्या वा नक्तमाहृतम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16. 23-32.

Cf. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 23, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.12.6, Mbh. Anu. 161-100.

prohibited.¹ Food which was smelt by human beings and impure animals such as cats was also avoided.²

But ideas of cleanliness appear to have been tempered with by sound commonsense. It was probably realized that it would be difficult to throw or discard food articles when prepared in bulk on the occasion of some religious ceremonies or marriages even if they were touched by dogs or crows. So the lawgivers prescribe that such food articles could be used after removing the defiled portion and sprinkling water on the remainder. Even food, left after a cat had eaten from it, was regarded as pure;³ Vasiṣṭha lays down that even stale food could be eaten after pouring over it curds or clarified butter.⁴

It is laid down that one should leave off eating if during his meal he is touched by a *Sādra*. He should not dine with unworthy people. It was considered improper to dine with one who gives his leavings to his pupils or gets up while others are eating.⁵ But it was customary for a wife to eat food left in her husband's plate.⁶

But some rigidity seems to have come with regard to the acceptance of food from various castes, for while some lawgivers

¹ नापरया द्वारा प्रपत्तमन्तः भूजनीतः ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 3. 7.

² मनुष्यवैरवत्वाकामन्यर्वा मेधयैः ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 5.

³ देवदोषाणां विवाहेषु यजेषु प्रकृतेषु च ।

कार्कैः इवभिद्वच संस्पृष्टमन्तः लक्ष विसर्जयेत् । २५।

तस्मादद्वमपोद्दृत्य शोष संस्कारमहंति ।

द्रवाणां प्लावनेनव घनानां शोषयेत् तु । २६।

मात्रिरिमुखसंस्पृष्टं लुचि एव हि तद् भवेत् । २७।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 25-27.

⁴ ग्रन्थं पर्युषितं भावद्गुष्टं सहृलेष्व पुनः सिद्धमाध्यमात्सं पवनं च कामं तु इत्या वृत्तेन चा भित्तारितमुपयुज्जीति ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 24.

⁵ भूजनात् वा ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.33.

यत्र गृह उपस्पृशेत् । १। अनहंडिर्वा समानप्रकृती । २।

भूजनानेषु वा यज्ञानुराधायोच्छिष्टं प्रयच्छेदाचमेद्वा । ३।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.11-3. .

⁶ भूकृतवोच्छिष्टं वर्जनं प्रदाय यथार्थं गौर्दिक्षिणा ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 3.22.

भूकृतवोच्छिष्टं वर्जनं दद्यात् ।

Kh. Gr. Su. I. 4.11.

of the period lay down that food offered by people of any caste could be accepted, provided they follow the laws prescribed for them.¹ Others thought that this rule did not apply to a Śūdra unless he was *Dharmopanata*.² Food articles such as water, roots, milk, curds, roasted grain, small fish, venison and vegetables offered by a member of any caste could be accepted.³ Uncooked and unflavoured boiled food could also be accepted.⁴ In times of scarcity a Brāhmaṇa could eat even the food offered by a Śūdra but he is advised to leave the practice as soon as he obtains lawful livelihood.⁵ The food of a herdsman, a farmer, an acquaintance of the family, a barber or a family servant could, however, be eaten without any hesitation.⁶ Apastamba clearly allows Śūdras to cook food under the supervision of an Ārya.⁷

It is also laid down that food offered by an association, by a general invitation, by an artisan, by a person who lives by the use of arms, by those who let out lodgings, by a physician, a usurer, should not be taken.⁸ Food served by a eunuch, the professional messenger of a king, a Brāhmaṇa who offers substances unfit for a sacrifice, a spy, a person who has become a hermit without observing the proper laws, a learned Brāhmaṇa who

¹ Gaut. Dh. Su. XII, 1.

² सुर्ववर्णानि स्वधर्मे वर्तमानानि भोक्तव्यं शूद्रवर्जमित्येके ।१३। तस्यापि धर्मोपनतस्य ।१४। सुवर्णं दत्वा पशुं वा भूज्ञीत नात्यत्मन्ववस्थेऽवृत्तिं प्राप्य विरमेत्।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 13-15.

C.f. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 1, XVII. 5, Vas. Dh. Su. XX. 19.

³ Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 2.

In case of a sacrifice, however, Baudhāyana does not allow a Śūdra even to milk a cow. (Baud. Sr. Su. XXIV. 31.)

⁴ अस्त्वार्थं मात्रं भोगं भूयिष्यत्सक्षानि रक्षा गव्यूतिनिवैशानं युग्मवासद्योग्रतः ग्रहिण्यमाणिः शार्वं वा गृह्णीत्वा तु तात्पर्यं वा विरलस्य।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 1-4.

Ugta—a person whose father is a Vaiśya and mother a Śūdra.

⁵ स्वधर्मपत्यवृत्तीं सुवर्णं दत्वा पशुं वा भूज्ञीत।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18.6.

⁶ Gaut. Dh. Su. XVIII. 6.

⁷ मार्वाधिष्ठिता वा शूद्राः संस्कतादिः स्युः।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 2.4.

⁸ सहृदात्रभोज्यम् ।१६। परिकृष्टं च ।१७। सर्वेषां च शिलाजीवाताम् ।१८। ये च शस्त्रमाजीवानि ।१९। ये चाधिम् ।२०। भिषक् ।२१। वार्ष्ण्यिकः ।२२।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 16-22.

C.f. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 2-21.

avoids everybody or who eats the food of anybody or who neglects the daily study of the Vedas and one whose wife is a Sūdra should also be avoided.¹

It is also laid down that a Brāhmaṇa student who has completed his Vedic studies should, as a matter of course, accept the food offered by a Brāhmaṇa. Such a student should not accept the food offered by members of any other caste. If a person is observing a penance the student should accept food only when the rites are over.²

Food supplied by a drunkenman, a mad man, a prisoner, he who leaves the Veda from his son, a creditor who sits with his debtor hindering the fulfilment of his duties and vice versa was also avoided.³ Food, touched by a woman during her courses was, as before, considered impure.⁴ Food of those families where a death had taken place was avoided for ten days as also of those where a woman had not come out of her confinement chamber after parturition or where a corpse lay inside the house.⁵ Food, according to Āpastamba, touched by a high caste person, who was impure, could be eaten but brought by an impure Sūdra could not be eaten.⁶

¹ बल्लीः ।२७। राक्षो त्रैषकरः ।२८। अहविष्यती ।२९। चारी ।३०। मविधिना च प्रव-
जितः ।३१। यज्ञाभनीतपास्पति ।३२। यश्च सवीन् वर्जयते तदाच्ची च शोत्रियो निराकृति-
वृत्ती पतिः ।३३।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 28-33.

Cf. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.19.1, Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 17-18, XV. 18.

² व्याणां वणितां शत्रियवर्तीनां संमावृतेन न भोक्तव्यम् ।२। प्रकृत्या प्राकृत्यस्य
भोक्तव्यम् कारणादभोज्यम् ।१०। प्रताप्रायशिकैर्तं कर्मसिवते प्रायशिकत्वति ।११। चरित-
निर्वैष्टस्य भोक्तव्यम् ।१२।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 9-12.

³ मत्त उन्मत्तो बद्धोणिकः प्रत्युषविष्टो यश्च प्रत्युषवेशयते तापत्तं कालम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.19.1.

⁴ रजस्वता कुण्ठशकुनिरदोपहृतम् ।

Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 10.

Cf. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16. 27 and 29, Vas. Dh. Su. V. 7.

⁵ यश्च कुले भियेत् न तत्रानिर्देशे भोक्तव्यम् ।१३। तथानुरिताणां सूतिकामाद् ।१४।
मन्तः शब्दे च ।२०।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16. 18-20.

⁶ प्रप्रयतोपहृतमत्र प्रप्रयतं न त्वन्नोज्यम् ।२१।

प्रप्रयतेन तु सूर्योपहृतवर्तीज्यम् ।२२।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16. 21-22.

These law givers give long lists of those Brāhmaṇas who sanctify the company of diners and of those who defile such company. In the first category are mentioned those persons who comprehend the meaning of the Vedas, students, liberal donors, and persons who have attained the age of hundred years.¹ In the second category are persons suffering from leprosy, baldmen, persons guilty of adultery, Brāhmaṇas who follow the profession of arms and the son of a Sūdra with a Brāhmaṇa mother.²

The authors of the Sūtras also lay down that one should not eat food which is given after reviling nor should one revile food while taking one's meals.³ Vasiṣṭha lays down that one should praise food, show one's delight at it and not find fault with it when it is served.⁴ Baudhāyana also lays down that a person should, while taking food, keep himself free from lust, anger, hatred, greed and perplexity.⁵

Another important rule which we find in the Sūtras is that the food should suit the age and stage in life of a man. The food of children consisted of boiled rice with curds, honey, clarified butter or water. Some times they were given some meat preparations.⁶ Students were advised not to take food which

¹ विमश्चित्तमुपर्य दिवणाचिकैतश्चामैः । पञ्चानिन्दयेष्टकामणी वैदाधाय्य नूचानपुत्रः शोषित इत्येते आदे भुज्ज्वानाः पाहिजतपादनाः भवन्ति ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7. 17.22.

² शिवतः विषिविद्यः परतत्पराम्भायुधीयपुत्रः शूद्रोत्पत्रो वाहूष्टामित्येते आदे भुज्ज्वानाः पहित दूषणा भवन्ति ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.17.21.

³ द्विषत् द्विषतो वा नाशमसनीशद्वैपेण वा मीमांसानस्य मीमांसितस्य वा ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 3.6.19.

कुरुत्विद्वा वा यत्वात् दद्युः ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.4.

प्रसकादवत् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.6.

Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.7.

⁴ ऋचत इति शायं प्रातरशनान्यभिनूजयेत् । स्वदितमिति पित्र्येषु सम्पदमित्याम्भुदादिकेषु ।

Vasiṣṭha Dh. Su. III. 62-62.

Cf. Kū. Gr. Su. I. 3.19, Ap. Dh. Su. II. 2.3.11, Vasiṣṭha Dh. Su. 62. 42.

⁵ Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 3.5.21.

⁶ मध्योदयनं दद्या मधुना शृतेनाद्विनिरिति समुदायेत्य हिरण्येनोपधस्य कुमारं प्राप्तयति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 3.3.

Cf. Ap. Gr. Su. 6.16, Saṅkh. Gr. Su. I. 24.3, Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.1, Pīras. Gr. Su. I. 19.8.

was offered at a sacrifice probably because it consisted of meat preparations and exciting dishes consisting of pungent condiments, salt and honey.¹ Ordinarily they were expected to go out for begging alms because, according to the authors of the Sūtras it made them humble. But there was no restriction on the quantity of food a student should take.²

A householder is also advised to take two full meals consisting of 32 mouthfuls so that he may be able to perform his work efficiently.³ Āpastamba also allows partaking of roots and fruits between the two principal meals.⁴ A newly married couple was, as already stated, not allowed to use pungent or saline food for three days after marriage.⁵ When a householder performed a sacrifice he was expected to take only fast day food in which meat and other exciting food stuffs were avoided.⁶ He was expected to eat only once in the afternoon and that too not

¹ मानुषेष्यं भूत्वरीत । २३। तथाभारतवर्णमधुमातानि । २३।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 22-23.

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 4.6, Gaut. Dh. Su. II. 13, Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 3.23-24., Pāsk. Gr. Su. II. 5.12, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 117. 19-23, Manav. Gr. Su. I. 1. 12.

² भैशालार्द्दं वृत्तिः स्पाति ।

Manav. Gr. Su. I. 1.2.

Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 2.4.7., Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 2.5.2.

शष्टौ ग्रासा चुनैर्भैश्वदः वोदशारत्यवासिनः ।

द्वात्रिंशतं गृहस्वस्यापरिवितं वद्युचारिणः ।

Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.8.

गृहस्यो शृङ्गारी वा योनादनं स्तु तपश्चरेत् ।

प्राणान्तिनद्वैत्वेषिन द्वावकीर्णी भवेत् सः ।

Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 17.10.

Cf. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 4.9.13.

³ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 1.1.2, II. 8.19.10, II. 4.9. 12-13, Vas. Dh. Su. VI. 20-21 Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.10, Gaut. Dh. Su. 9.59, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 2.9.

सिद्धे सायं प्रातर्भूतिद्युक्त श्रोमित्युच्चैर्यात् ।

Khadira Gr. Su. I. 5.20.

⁴ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.10.

⁵ तावृत्रौ तत्प्रसृति विरातमक्षारत्ववर्णाशिनौ शृङ्गारिणौ भूमो शरीरातान् ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 3.15.

⁶ सपराङ्गे स्नात्वौपवस्थिकं दम्पती भूम्जीवाताम् ।

Khadira Gr. Su. II. 1.4.

अहनि मा ३३ सर्वैयुने वर्जयेत् ।

Katya. St. Su. II. 1.8.

Cf. Sankh. Sr. Su. III. 8.18.

to satiety when observing a fast.¹

Hermits generally lived upon roots, fruits, leaves, straws or gleanings of corn.² They could include clarified butter and curds in their food, but not stale food, pungent condiments, saline preparations or meat.³ Many ascetics subsisted only on milk and barley gruel.⁴ All the Sūtras lay down that the foresters should practise moderation in food. They should only take as much food as was necessary to maintain life.⁵

We also find some rules of etiquette in the Sūtras. It is laid down that one should eat sitting on a piece of ground which has been purified by the application of cowdung etc. He should not eat in a boat or on a wooden platform.⁶ It is prescribed that he should sit with his face towards the east or towards the south. But facing the south is not allowed if the diner's mother is alive.⁷ A person should have his sacred thread as also his upper garment when taking his meals.⁸

Some other rules of etiquette were that a person should not make a sound with his mouth, and should not speak while

¹ प्रपराह्ने त्रिविषयनीयमपनीतः सपिकामुहृतौ ।

Kath. Sr. Su., Su. II. 1.10.

Cf. Sakta Pan. II. 2.11. Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.9.

² ततो मूर्जे फलं पर्णस्तृणैरिति वर्तयश्चरेत् । शिलोऽच्छेन वर्तयेत् ।

AP. Dh. Su. II. 9.23.2.

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 9.22.10.

Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. III. 2.15.

³ Baudh. Dh. Su. III. 2.22.

Cf. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 13.

⁴ Baudh. Dh. Su. III. 7.8.

⁵ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 4.9.13, Vasistha. Dh. Su. 6. 20.21,
Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7. 31-32, II. 7.13.2.

⁶ कृतभूमि तु मुञ्जीतः ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.8.

न नावि भुञ्जीतः । तथा प्रातादे ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 6-7.

The skin of an ox was used as a seat in this period.

गृहामात्रा परिषुक्षणीक्षसम्प्राप्ता शाहूष्वोऽवरोप्याननुहृत्यमण्डुपावेशायन्ति ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 4.6.

⁷ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8. 191-92, I. 11.31.1, Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 18.

पाणिपादं प्रकाल्य . . . वायतो दक्षिणा मुखो भुञ्जीतः ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.1.

⁸ सौतरात्तादनस्वैव यज्ञोपवीती भुञ्जीतः ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.16.

taking his meals.¹ Biting off pieces from a cake with teeth² and drinking water standing or bending forward were also considered unmannerly.³ Eating in the company of one's wife and⁴ serving fats, salts and condiments in the hand were considered improper.⁵ Declaring the qualities of food was considered unmannerly.⁶ In a party one was not to begin eating before others and was not to leave the party while others were taking food. All others were expected to abstain from eating after anyone had left.⁷

Apastamba forbids the use of dark grains such as *Maya* beans in a *Sraddha*.⁸ Eating garlic, onions, mushroom, turnips and *Slesmataka* fruit is also forbidden. The use of red sap flowing from incisions made in the bark of trees and of food preparations which have turned sour is interdicted.⁹

It appears that generally warm food fried in ghee was liked.¹⁰ Some people observed fasts while some were glut-

¹ न च मुखशब्दं कुर्यात् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.10.

कृत्वा तासं यक्षीत न च मुख शब्दं कुर्यात् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.9-10.

Cf. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 2.4. 22-23, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.6.

² वीद्वरपूषस्य नापन्निन्द्वात् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.17.

Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.8.

³ Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.1.

⁴ भाव्येया सहृ नाशनीदादवीर्यवदपद्ये भवतीति वाजतनेवके विश्वायते ।

Vas. Dh. Su. 12. 29.

⁵ हस्तदत्तास्तु ये स्नेहू लवणाद्यव्यञ्जनानि च

द्वातारं नोपतिष्ठति भोक्ता भुजीति किल्वयम् ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 16.

⁶ Vas. Dh. Su. XI. 29-30.

⁷ Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.3., Gaut. Dh. Su. 17.19.

⁸ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.18.2.

⁹ लक्ष्मीनपलाण्डुकेमुकुर्मुञ्जनक्षेत्रमात्कवृक्षनिर्यासलोहितसश्चनदत्तकाकावलीहसुद्दोषित्वात्-
भोजनेपुरुच्छ्रुत्यात्कुञ्ज्यु इतरेऽप्यन्वत् मधुमांसफलविक्षयेव्याम्पपश्चव लिप्यः । २६।

सुधिनीक्षीरमवलक्ष्मीरं गोमहित्वजातामनिर्दशाहानामन्तराम्युदकमपूषधानापारम-
सकृत्वाटकृत्वलपत्यसाकानि शुक्लानि वर्जयेत् अग्नांश्च दीर्घविष्टविकारान् । २७।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 26-29.

¹⁰ Vas. Dh. Su. XI. 29.

तेन संपिण्डता शाहृण भोजयेत् ।

Ap. Gr. Su. III. 7.73.

tons.¹ The custom of feeding domestic servants seems to have been common.² The leavings of food (*Sarāvā odana*) were perhaps given to scavengers. Food left in the vessel from which it was served (*Mallaka odana*) was probably given to the barber and food left behind in the cooking pot (*Kārpara odana*) to the cooks.³

At the time of *Upanayana* ceremony a common dinner was given to the playmates of the boy who was to be invested with sacred thread.⁴ When a householder entered a new house people feasted themselves with liquor, curds, honey, ghee and barley preparations.⁵ When a bride was brought to her husband's house some women enjoyed a feast with food articles, vegetables and liquor and performed a dance. Green or ripe fruits were given as a present to the bride.⁶

In connection with a *Śrāddha* the Brāhmaṇas were informed two days before, reminded the next day and again requested to grace the occasion on the actual day of the ceremony.⁷ Vasiṣṭha lays down that the invitation should be extended to three ascetics, or three householders who are well versed in Vedic studies, are not very aged and do not follow forbidden occupations. But Baudhāyanī prescribes that ordinarily two Brāhmaṇas should be fed in a sacrifice and three in a *Śrāddha*. They were made to sit on seats made of grass.⁸ The food preparations were generally mixed with ghee and included sesamum and meat. In the absence

¹ *Vretta*—Pan. III. 1.31.
Amṛitikā—Pan. V. 2.67.

Gharmaṇa }
Admara }—Pan. III. 2. 160.

² *Odanika, Ṣrapika, Apūpika*.

³ Pan. Ag. (H), p. 129.

⁴ Baudh. Gr. Su.

⁵ Par. Gr. Su. III. 4.

⁶ Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 11.4.

परमं शकलोटां जलावापेषुः । कलानिवा ।

Gobhila Gr. Su. II. 4.8.9.

⁷ पूर्वेषु निवेदनम् । ११। अपरेण्युर्विलीयम् । १२। तृतीयमासन्त्रणम् । १३।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.17. 11-13.

⁸ Vas. Dh. Su. XI. 15.

पृथक् सार्वं चौदर्मं चापूपात्मजं अपयन्त्यन्वांशं भक्षयिदेवात्मवं सिद्धं सप्तानीया-
चमान् त्राप्तामान् सुप्रसाकृतपाणिपादानप्राचमयं सद्गोपित्वात्मासनेषु द्वौ देवे तीव्र-
पित्र्ये एकैकानुभवत् वा प्राद्यमुखानुपवेशात्युद्दमुखान् वा ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.16.

of meat and ghee, vegetables and oil were used by poor people. But Apastamba prohibits the use of oil cakes, wine, meat, dark grains and food obtained from a Sudra.¹ The custom of offering a ball of flour to the manes seems to be very old as it is mentioned in the Nirukta and the Lātyāyana Sr. Su.²

Baudhāyana mentions drinking liquor as a peculiar custom of the Brāhmaṇas in the north and taking food cooked overnight and in the company of their wives, or uninitiated persons as a peculiar custom of the inhabitants of the south.³

To sum up, in the Sūtras rice occupies the same important place among the foodgrains as barley. Some fine preparations such as *Prthuka* and *santyāva* were used. Of the pulses, besides *Māṣa* and *Mudga*, *Kulattha*, *Ādhaki* and gram had come into use. *Vātakas* and *Parpaṭas* were also prepared with pulses. Aryans were fully acquainted with the process of making sugarcane products in this period. Meat of animals, which were considered unhygienic, was avoided. Perhaps drinking was common but Brāhmaṇas avoided all intoxicating drinks while the Kṣattiyas and Vaiśyas, only those prepared from cereals. Much stress was laid on the practice of the virtue of hospitality and purity of food. The notion of food getting defiled by contact with persons not leading virtuous lives or following low professions was much developed in Madhyadeśa.

¹ Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.21, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 8.8, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.64.
स्नेहूवति त्वेवान्ने पितॄणां ग्रीतिर्दर्शीयास्तु च कालम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.16.14.

नैव्यमिकं तु शार्वं स्नेहूवदे च दद्यात् । १७। तपिश्चात्मिति प्रथमः कल्पः । १८। अभावे तैलं शाकमिति । १९।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19. 17-19.

विलापनं मधितं पिष्याकं भवु मासां च वर्जयेत् । १।
कृष्णधान्यं शूद्रानां मे चाम्भेनाश्चसंगताः । २।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.18. 1-2.

तिलाश्चाद्वे पवित्रं यदि दानाय यदि भोजनाय यथापां संसर्वनाय ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.64.

सद्यः वाद्वे पवित्रं यदि मासं यथास्थिमयं पाशम् ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.65.

² Nirukta III. 4.

Lātyā. Sr. Su. II. 10.4.

³ Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 1.2. 3-4.

SECTION 2 (EARLY BUDDHIST AND JAIN WORKS)

CEREALS AND PULSES

In the Buddhist and Jain works food has been classified into four categories—soft food such as boiled rice, hard food such as roots and fruits, beverages and relishable articles.¹ But, the food grains, particularly rice was the staple food of the people in the north eastern India.² Rice was also provided at the public rest houses.³ Both the varieties of rice *Vrīhi* (common variety) and *Sāli* (fine variety) were equally popular.⁴ But it appears that *Sāli* rice with its three famous varieties *Raktaśāli*, *Kalamasāli* and *Mahāśāli* was the favourite food of the rich.⁵ *Kalamasāli* was cultivated in Magadha and is recommended as the best food in

¹ Digh. 30 (Lakkhana Sutta).

Soft food (Bhojanīya)⁶ in the Buddhist works includes boiled rice (*rahita*), boiled mixture of barley and beans (*kuṇḍīya*), parched barley meal (*rakta*), meat (*uddhura*) and fish (*marutsa*) while hard food (*khādīya*)⁷ includes roots, stalks, leaves flowers and fruit.

(a) Vin. IV. 92, J. 127, J. III. 349, J. 339.

(b) Vin. Mahāvagga VI. 16, Bhikkhu. Pati V. 35, Bhikkhuni Pati IV 120.

In the Jain works the four categories of food articles are called *āhara* (soft food), *Khādīva* (hard food), *Pāṇas* (beverages) and *Sādūra* (relishable articles).

Aca. II. 1.228, 523, Nisi III. 1, Nayā. I. 72, Vipak. I. 38.

² *Sāli* and *Vrīhi*—Majjhima I. 57, Panna. I. 23.40, Brhatk. Su. II. 1, Bhag. XIV. 7.13, I. 340, 113, 543, Thera G. 381.

In the south also rice must have been the staple food grain as it was exported from India to Babylon in the 6th century B.C. The Greek word *Oryza* is from the Tamil word 'Arisi' (rice).

T.R. Sesh Iyengar—The Ancient Dravidians, p. 136.

³ Milind. I. 10, II. 5, J. 51.

⁴ *Vrīhi*—J. I. 340, 113, 543, Thera. G. 381.

Panna. I. 23-40, Bhag. XXI. 2-2.

Sāli—J. 325, 512, III. 144, Milind I. 157.

Thera. G. 381, Digh. I. 103, II. 293, Vin. IV. 264,

Majjhima. I. 57, Ang. IV. I. 32-745, III. 49, IV. 108,

Brhatk. Bha. I. 828, Sutta II. 1, Panna. I. 23-24.

सालीनामेदनं भूज्ञे सुन्ति मांसुपासेचनम् ।

J. III. 144.

⁵ *Raktaśāli* (red variety) J. 73, Brhatk. Bha. II. 3301, Milind. 252 calls it *Sālihūtaka*.

Kalamasāli—It was cultivated in Magadha. (Thera G. 208).

C.f. Uva. I. 2.35, Sutta II. 18.30.

Mahāśāli—Brhatk. Bha. II. 3301.

Gandhabāli—(Fragrant variety) Brhatk. Bha. II. 3301.

the Uva.¹ Rice was cooked with choicest flavours.² A mixture of rice and sesamum was very popular.³ Boiled rice was generally liked hot.⁴ Next to boiled rice the favourite preparation of rice was a gruel (*Yāga*) which is highly praised both in the Buddhist and the Jain works.⁵ Parched rice was sweetened before eating. Besides *Prthuka* and ordinary cakes (*apīpa*), delicious ones (*Sasākuli*) were prepared from rice.⁶ Sometimes cakes were pre-

¹ कलम साजि श्रोदणेण प्रबसेत्त श्रोदणविर्हि पच्चक्षताति ।

Uva. I. 35.

² नानान्वरसम् चालि भत्तम् पक्षे हीति ।

J. 450.

नानागं रसेहि सूप व्यवज्ञते हि भत्तपातिम् सज्जेत्वा ।

J. 496.

³ *Tibidasa*—J. III. 425.

⁴ भत्तं सम्प्रक्षित्वा नूद्यम्भृत्यसम्भृतम् उण्ह भत्तम् वड्केत्वा ।

J. 212.

⁵ यातु देन्तो आरु देति, वज्ञम देति, सुखं देति, वलं देति, विभातम देति, यातुपीता खुदम् पदिहनति, पिपासम् विनोदेति, वातम् अतुलोमेति, वरितम् सोवेति, आमावसेत्तम् पोचति । इमे खो आहाण देशा निशंसा यागु याऽति ।

Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 24.5.

उदरे काता वाचो ते कटुलाय यागु या फासु हीतीति सामम तिलम यि तङ्क्तुलम् मुग्यम् पि पञ्चा पेत्वा अन्तो वासेत्वा अन्तो सोमम् पञ्चित्वा भगवतो उपनामेति पिक्तु भगवा है कटुला यागुमति ।

Vin. VI. 17.1.

C.f. Vin. Mahavagga (H) VI. 4.3, Vin. Mahavagga. I. 298.10, VI. 25.3, 33.3, J. 109.

Kaffabhyujī was some good variety of gruel as it is recommended in the Uva.

कट्ठ पिज्जाते अवसेसं पिज्ज विर्हि पच्चक्षताति ।

Uva. I. 33.

According to the commentary it was a decoction of some pulses such as Mudga or other corn or of rice fried in ghee.

मुद्गादि दूधः वृक्तसित तण्डुल पेत्या वा ।

⁶ *Jhāmabhatta*—(parched rice).

श्रोदन कात्तिक उक्तम भत्तम् विषात्त शिणम् खादयेत्वा कुण्डक यागुङ्च पावेत्वा यहिजग्याति ।

J. 254.

C.f. J. IV. 214, 281.

Madhūbhīja (Parched barley sweetened with sugar).

मच्छ मासं फला फलाहि अ एव मधुलजि तत्कर्ता पानकादीहि च परिजग्यातु ।

J. 339.

कच्चनलट्टै नवुलाजे सुक्तरोदकाळ्व वापेत्वा ।

J. 476.

pared from broken rice grains. Scum of boiled rice was also used as food.¹

Besides rice, barley and wheat were also used but they were not so popular.² Barley continued to be parched and ground into meal.³ Cakes of wheat are frequently mentioned.⁴ Some other inferior cereals such as *Kodrava*, *Syāmaka*, *Cinaka* and *Priyanighi* were used by poor people and ascetics.⁵ Cakes prepared

Pāva—(sweet cakes)

पूव सबखलि आदीनि चेव कला दीनि च हरत्तो।

J. 252.

Pindra, Nir. 157.

Piduya (*Pethuka*)

पिदुयं वा बहुहृषं वा भुजियं वा मंथं वा आउरं वा चारलपलंबं वा।

Aca. II. 1. 127.

Sakkuṭi (*Sakkuṭi*)

पिंडं वा लीवं आ अक्षणं वा, पाणं वा, लीरं वा, दण्डं वा, पवं वा, गुलं वा, लेलं वा, मक्कुलि वा फाणियं वा पूयं वा सिहरणि वा

Aca. I. 45, 566.

Bhāṭak. I. 1.8, Das. V. 71.

¹ *Kangūwa*—(cakes prepared from broken rice grains) J. 109.

Āyama—(scum of boiled rice) Uttara XV.

² *Barley*

पुडी शाली जवा चेव हिरण्यं पसुभिस्ताहु।

पर्दि पुर्णं नालं भेगस्त इदं विजात तवं चरे।

Uttara IX. 49.

Sutra. II. 1, Pāṇa. I. 23-40, Bhag. XIV. 7.13, J. I. 373, II. 110, III. 216, IV. 580.

Wheat

तिलं तम्बूला मुद्रा भाषा यवा गोद्यमं मसूराः शाखयः।

Vin. (Mahavagga) VI. 16.53.

Sutra. II. 1, Pāṇa, I. 23-40, Bhag. XIV. 7. 13, Bhāṭak Bha. I. 828.

³ *Sakkuṭi*—Ava, Cu. II. 317.

Mantha—Aca. II. 1.527.

⁴ *Khajake*—Cakes prepared with wheat flour.

Sometimes they were coated with sugar. It seems they were very much liked.

यर्ह यातु दातु न सविलसामि लक्जकोष्य न दसार्थीति शब्दं कुण्डक वहोपत्वा।

J. 109.

पूयपुर्णेति खंडसज्जेति वा ग्रवसेत्प भक्षणेति पञ्चक्षणाति।

Uva. I. 34.

⁵ *Kodrava*—(*Paspalum scorbiculatum*). It was generally eaten by the poor.

Vin. Ma. II. 211.14, Bhag. XXI. 3, Sutra. II. 1, Pāṇa. I. 23-40.

Syāmaka—Digh. I. 166, Majjhima. I. 78, Angu. I. 295, II. 266.

Sutt. Np. II. 1, J. 346, S.B.B. V. 110, Vin. Mahavagga. II. 211.14, J. III. 144, Samyutt. N. II. 2.1.

with some inferior grains are mentioned in the Buddhist and Jain works as the food of the poor people.¹ Of the pulses the most popular were *Mudga*, *Māṣṭa*, *Masīra*, (lentil), *Kulaththa* (horse-gram), *Kalāya* (pea) and *Ādībaki*.² Some other varieties are also mentioned.³ The most common preparation was a soup (*Yāṣa*

Chaka—(*Panicum miliaceum*).

कोट्रबो वा स्यामको वा चित्रको वा शिवज्ञवी।

Vin. Mv. II. 211.14.

Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutes. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Priyaṅgu—J. 546, Vin. Mahavagga. II. 211.14, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40, Bhag. XXI. 3.

Varaka—a variety of *Priyaṅgu* is also mentioned. Bhag. XXI. 3, Sutra. II. 2.

¹ *Khātīnāśa*—J. 475, Ghatika Sutta 81, Ratjhapāla Sutta. 82, S.B.B. V. 177, Vin. Mahavagga. II. 269.15, 277.18, Majjhima. II. 176.

Cake prepared with inferior grains were also used.

अन्तरापणतो चतारो कुम्भाशपिण्डे गहेतवा

J. 475.

² *Mudga*

यदि वा मुग्यूसम् यदि वा कुलत्वयूसम्

यदि वा कलायूसम् यदि वा हरेयूसम्।

S.B.B. V. 176.

Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 16.33, J. 115, Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Māṣṭa—Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 16.33, J. 546, Bhag. XXI. 2, Su. II. 1, तिन्तत्पुत्रामुदगमापायवायोधूमसमूर्ताःशालयः।

Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 16.33.

Masīra—Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 16.33, Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Kulaththa—Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Kalāya—S.B.B. V. 176, J. 176, From J. I. 176 we learn that it was given to horses.

Ādībaki—Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

³ *Capaka* (gram)—Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.
Harave (a kind of pea)—S.B.B. V. 176, Vin. Mahavagga. I. 245, J. V. 403, VI. 337.

Other food grains mentioned in the Jain works are :

Akuṣṭhaka (modern kuttu) Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Saṇa (Linum usitatissimum) Ibid

Nispāṭva (Nispāṭva) Ibid

Aśīṭhāṇa—a grain coming from Alexandria (a variety of chickpea). Ibid

Atasi (Unseed) Ibid

Pūṭīmāṇibaka Ibid

Kusumibba (safflower) Ibid

Rāṭhaga (the resin of *Shorea Rubusta*) Ibid

जे जहानामए केरपुरिसे कलममसूरतिलमुग्नातनिकाजकुलत्वयसिंद्विलिमंथ गमदि
एहि।

Sutra. II. 18.30.

or *Sūpa*) but round balls of pulses fried in clarified butter were common. These round balls were made sour by fermentation. *Parpafas* (very thin cakes) were also prepared with pulses.¹

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Besides food grains, milk and its products were important articles of food both for the Buddhists and the Jains.² The Buddha himself allowed them to his followers.³ Sometimes some pungent drugs were added to milk so that it might be used as a cure for cold.⁴ In addition to the milk of cows and buffaloes that of camels and goats was also used.⁵ Milk rice was a favourite

सालिदीहिंसोधुमजवाकलममूर्तिलमूङ्गामासाणिकावकुलत्थश्चलितद त इति एन्जिष्ठा ।
मध्यमोक्तुसुभकोहृषकंगूरालग्नवर्ष्णु क्लेष्टसाक्षणस्तरितवमूलगवीयमाइयादेस भैषज्यं ।

Panna, I. 23-40.

¹ विषय—भवति रसगन्धयोक्ते ।

Vin. Mv. I. 298.1.

क्लेष्ट—कलवश्चूहेण वा मूङ्गमासमूर्णे वा अद्योत्ते सूपविहि पच्चक्षतिति ।

Uva, I. 36.

माशु यो पच्चन्ति भवानि पचन्ति सूपानि समादेन्ति मंहानि कोट्टेन्ति ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 33.3.

Cooked pulses were also called *Ajvaraṇya*.

भवरणं नाम सूपेष्यम् ।

Anguttara. IV. 172.

Parpafas—Mink. 147.4, Aca. II. 1, 327, Panna, I, Aca. 614.

Vajaka—(round balls).

सेहू व वालिर्य वेहि अवसेस जीमणविहि दक्षवक्षाति ।

Uva. I. 40.

Cf. Uva, I. 38.

² सेम्याश्चापि चित्तगवा लीर्य, शीरम्हादधि, दधिमहू चवनीतं, त्र्यवनीतम्हा त्र्यपि, सविग्रहा मणिमण्डो ।

Digh. N. Potthapāda Sutta. 34.

Vin. Mv. (H) VI. 6.3, Vin. I. 245, II. 301, Majjhima. I. 343, Ang. II. 207, Puggala Pannati 36, Ang. II. 95, Digh. I. 201, Dhamma. Ti. 198, Vin. Mv. VI. 34.21 J. I. 296, 388, 457.

³ The milk products which the Buddha allowed to his followers were milk, curds, butter milk, butter and ghee. Mahavagga (H) VI. 6.3.

इमानि लो पञ्च भेदवशानि लेप्यवीदम् सव्य तवनीतम् लेलम् लघु फाणितम् भेदवशानि ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 33.21.

⁴ तिविष्यन्तेस्तथपरिवर्तिं लीर्य विवर्त्ति ।

⁵ Av. Cu. II. 319.

J. 127.

food¹ and the Jains used dried pieces of cloth moistened with milk, for drinking water mixed with this dried milk.²

Of the milk products curds were the most important.³ From curds was prepared the favourite dish *Sikbaripi* by mixing crystal sugar and some pungent spices.⁴ Fresh butter and clarified butter were much used.⁵ In the Uva, cow's ghee is regarded as the best especially its creamy part (*Megda*).⁶ Butter milk and a preparation of it called *Saga* were in common use.⁷

MEAT PREPARATIONS

From the Buddhist works we know that the number of non-vegetarian people was considerable.⁸ We read of a meat market in Mithilā,⁹ and of slaughter houses¹⁰ and fishermen selling fish at other places.¹¹ Venison was sold at cross roads outside Bana-

¹ मन्त्रां एवं पत्य तण्डुलाङ्गच चतुर्मानं खीरस्त अच्छर्वं सक्षतराय, कर्णधकम् चतुर्म् एकाङ्गम् पचनभाजनं देहि ।

Sudhābhōjana J. No. 335.

J. I. 162, III. 205, Nisi IX. 311.

² *Khādes*

Bhāsk. Bha. I. 2882, 2892.

³ पिपडे वा लोगे वा खीर वा दाहि वा सूप वा नवणीय वा टेलेव वा काणियं वा पूरे वा सकुली वा लिहरिणी वा ।

Bhāsk. Su. I. 2.8.

Dīgh. Potthapūda Sutta 34, Vin. Mv. VI. 33.21. J. 123.277, Aca. II. 1, Nisi. VIII. 18.

⁴ Aca. II. 1.4.247.

⁵ जी भिन्नत्वं रुणो खतियाण जाव भिसीताणं लणिहि सणि विशाओ खीर वा दाहि वा नवणियं वा, सूप्यं वा, गुलं वा, संडं वा, सकारं वा भेष्टियं वा अण्यरं वा चोपणं जावं पत्रिमाहेहि ।

Nisi. VIII. 18.

Vin. Mv. VI. 33.21.

⁶ तत्प्रथं गोपय लंडेण अवसेसं घयविहि पञ्चकलालि ।

Uva. I. 37.

Vin. Mv. VI. 33.21, Vin. Culla. IV. 45, J. 106, 130, 134, 186, 277, Nisi. III. 18.

⁷ *Saga*—A preparation seasoned with butter milk such as *dobhābhī* etc.

J. C. Jain, p. 123.

⁸ चतुर्पदम् चतुर्गच्छाणि मांसम् चूपेहि रुचं मुकां चुनिद्युलम् ।

सुधेव इन्द्री परिभुज्योदानं हित्वा कथो इको गोमती भरन्ते ।

J. 137.

J. IV. 370, V. 489.

⁹ J. 408.

¹⁰ Vin. Mv. VI. 10, Vin. Culla. V. 104, J. V. 408, VI. 62, 546.

¹¹ नानामन्त्रांसविकतिपरिवारोजनम् सम्पादेत्वा योक्तं भोजनाति विचारित्वा उपरं पलापेत्वो अद्याति ।

J. 292.

Ang. N. III. 301-303, J. 21, 34, 114.

ras¹ and there were some villages inhabited by hunters.² Then meat and fish are frequently mentioned with other eatables in the Buddhist works.³ Venison, pork and flesh of fowls seem to be very popular⁴ but flesh of oxen, godbā and birds was also used as food.⁵ Some people killed sheep, goats, poultry and swine in sacrifices⁶ but flesh of monkeys, pigeons and beef was also eaten.⁷ Kings killed many animals in hunting and enjoyed their flesh.⁸ Thus it seems that both the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas had no objection to taking meat. We know that some ascetics lived on snippets of hides.⁹ We also learn from the Jain sources that many birds, fish and animals were killed and their flesh served on festive occasions.¹⁰ Some people even took beef and eggs.¹¹

¹ J. III. 49, V. 458, VI. 62.

² J. II. 182, IV. 252, 334, 337, 341, V. 41.

³ J. 339, 418, 436.

Mahāvagga (H) VI. 4.4.

⁴ Venison—J. 420.

Pork—Nyagrodha J. 12, Kumṛga J. 21, J. 186.

Fowl—

रा कुम्भुटमांसञ्च भृतञ्च सम्पदित्वा ।

J. 254.

Sri J. 248, Nyagrodha J. 444.

⁵ Oxen—J. 144.

Godbā—सिनिद्ध सम्भारयुतं अभिलालवलम् गोधामांसम् ।

J. 138.

Birds—A captured bird cries 'what fate for one caught in a net except the cruel spit.'

कानु पासेन बद्धस्त त्वरत्वा महानसा ।

J. 33.

J. 537.

⁶ J. 50, J. 142, 489, 362.

⁷ Monkeys—Mahākapi. J. 402.

Pigeons—ग्रय श्रस्य एक दिवसं पञ्चन्त गामवासिनो पारापतमांस अभिसं लस्तिवा ग्रदम् ।

J. 277.

Beef—Langusṭha J. 144, Gahapati J. 199.

⁸ J. 537.

⁹ Kassapa Śihanāda J.

¹⁰ Sutta II. 18.21, Aca. II. 1.4 245, 247, Bhag. I. 8.46.

Uttara XII. 7, XIX. 64, Panna. I. 33, Vipaka. VIII. 46, 47, Vipaka. VIII. 10.

Susiyapannati. 51. p. 151.

¹¹ देवाणुषिद्या भम काल धरि एहि गोवए हितो कल्ला कल्लि दुवे दुवे गोण पोयए उद्दे-हता भम उवगह ।

Uva. VIII. 12.

तएण से तिरिए महाणसिए बहुण जलयर यलयर ल्लायर मंसाइ कप्पाणी कप्पिबाइ करेइ तं जहा सण्ह ल्लियणिय बट्ठ दीह रहस्या हिमपक्काणिय कालाणिय हूरंगाणिय

We read also of ascetics who lived on the flesh of elephants.¹ In certain circumstances even the Jains, who are so particular about the protection of life, took meat. In the country of Sindhu many people lived on flesh diet.²

Flesh roasted on spits is frequently mentioned.³ Meat of sheep dressed with salt and pepper and fried in oil is mentioned in the Sūtra.⁴ Venison, partridges and fowls were roasted on live charcoal.⁵ Meat soup was also common.⁶ Ghee, curds and spices were used in cooking meat.⁷ The flesh of a *Godbā* dressed with spices and vinegar was considered a delicious dish.⁸ Meat cooked with rice seems to have been a favourite dish of the Brāhmaṇas.⁹ Sometimes a meat soup was prepared with

महिदणिव आमल रसियाणिया मुहिया कविट्ठा दालिमरसिया मच्छरस तलियाणिया, नजिया, सौलिया उबवडावेद्दता भर्णेव वहवे मच्छरेव एव, एणिज्ज्वरस एव, तितिर रस एव, जाव मधुर रस एव—उबण्णइ।

Vipaka. VIII. 10.

कुकड औड एव जलयनलेचर भाईण्डेड नंदमुय भज्जाए युय इग्गाले मुय तलिति भज्जंति सौलिति।

Vipaka. III. 18.

Vipaka. VIII. 46.47, Uttara. XXII. 14.

¹ Sūtra. II. 6, X. 92.

² Dhag. XV., Nisi. Cu. 134, at 16.

³ तुह पियावं मंसाइ लालाइ सोलेलाणियः
साविं भोजिं संसाइ अनिं वरणाइ णेगासो।

Uttara. XIX. 70.

C.f. Sūtra. II. 6.

दुसर मे सोलपालस्य रत्तिशतम् अपा भस्त्।

मांसमूला च हे गोवा एवाक्ष दधि वारकम्।

J. 316.

⁴ J. 33, 139.

⁵ तितिरकुक्कुटाक्षयो भारेत्वा यासप् अग्नरेत् पवित्रा।

J. 312.

C.f. Vipaka. II. 14, III. 22.

⁶ *Sūpa* or *Upatescana*

सी लेसम् सूप व्यस्तन त्वाय।

J. I. 420.

यागु यो पचय भस्तानि पचय सूपानि तम्यादेव। डत्तिरेण्यानि समादेव इति।

Vin. Culla. VI. 4.1.

भसम् तुचिम् मांसुपसेचतम्।

J. 398.

⁷ सप्तिदधिकटुकभषडादीनि।

J. I. 325.

C.f. J. I. 420.

⁸ सिनिद्र संभारयुतम् शम्बिलालम्बलम् गोधामांसम्।

J. 138.

⁹ J. 345, VI. 238.

Robita fish and eaten with great relish with *Sāli* rice.¹ There are many references to seasoned meat both in the Buddhist and Jain works.² Meat fried in oil and salted and spiced with pepper is frequently mentioned in the Jain literature.³ Some other preparations of meat are mentioned in the *Vipāka*, III. p. 46.⁴

The Buddhists did not believe that purity comes through food.⁵ It is stated that those who take life are at fault but not the persons who eat flesh.⁶ Meat and fish are invariably included in the eatables in the Buddhist works.⁷ Buddha preferred non-violence to violence.⁸ He condemned animal sacrifices,⁹ but he did not insist on his followers being strict vegetarians. He wanted to restrict the killing of animals,¹⁰ so he advised his followers not to take meat preparations if an animal or fish was killed expressly for them.¹¹ No follower of his was allowed to kill an animal for food in normal times¹² but meat of

¹ विज्ञ रोहितमच्छरसम् नवघतपिस्तकाम् साक्षिभसम् ।

J. 292.

² J. III. 100, 378, VI. 62, *Vipāka*. II. 14, III. 22.

³ *Vipāka*. II. 14, III. 22, *Sutta*. II. 6, 10.

⁴ *Kankkabandhīya*, *Vesapakkhaṇḍīya*, *Dibbakkandhīya*, *Rahassakkandhīya*, *Himapākha*, *Jammapākha*, *Vegapākha*, *Māraṇapākha*, *Kāla*, *Hiranīga*, *Mabijība*.

Vipāka, III, p. 46.

⁵ *Vin*, *Mv*. I. 80.

⁶ *Suttanipāta* II. 2. 5-9, J. 246.

⁷ *Vin*. IV. 83, J. 339, 418, 436.

⁸ *Bhikkhu*, *Patimokkha* V. 61, *Samyutta*. III. 1.9.

⁹ न लैत अरियो हौति येन पाणानि हितंति ।

अहिंसा सब्दं पाणानं अरियोति पदुच्छिति ।

Dhammapada. 270.

तथो च देवा पितरो इन्द्रो भगुर रक्षसा ।

ग्रहस्मो हृति पक्षलन्दू य सत्यं निपति गवे ।

Sutta, *Nipata*. II. 7.27.

C.F. Vin, *Mv*. I. 16.

¹⁰ Even in this period, it appears that animals were not killed on Sabbath day (*Upasatha divasena*). J. 220, *Vin*. III. 32.

¹¹ न हि भिक्षये जानम् उद्दिष्टादम् मांसं परिभूतिकृतम् ।

Vin, *Mv*. VI. 31.141.

Buddha considered *drjita* (seen), *sruta* (heard) and *paritamkita* (suspected) meat inedible.

Jivaka Suttāni. 55.2.1.5.

C.F. Vin, *Colla*. VII. 3.15, *Majjhima* (II) 55.

¹² न च मर्य वीवित हैतुं फि

राज्ञिकृतं पाणं जिवितं वौरो ऐस्याम् ।

Vin, *Mv*. VI. 31.

wild animals could be cooked in times of distress or in some extraordinary illness.¹

Jain monks did not accept any food article which involved *bihāsā*.² It was for this reason that they always avoided taking meals at night.³ Jinadatta is said to have avoided meat preparations even when they were prescribed by a physician.⁴ But in extreme distress some of them had no objection to taking them.⁵

The Buddha and Mahāvīra impressed upon their followers the need of avoiding slaughter of animals and succeeded to such a great extent in changing the attitude of the people that even Brahmanical works such as the *Mahābhārata* and the *Manusmīti* prescribe sacrifices where no slaughter of animals is involved.⁶

SWEETS

Honey was in common use.⁷ It had three varieties—of

¹ *Vin.* III. 38, *Vin. Mahavegga*, VI. 1.10, 23.10, 23.14.
पोत्यनिक गहेत्वा उद्योगात् उक्तनित्वा वालिया अदालि ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 23.3.

ती शूकर सूक्ष्म गन्तव्या आपक मांसम् खादि आमक लोहितम् पिवि ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 23.10.

Scholars are not unanimous about the meaning of the word *Sākaramaddava*, the food article, which caused Buddha's death. But there seems to be greater likelihood that it was a fungus liable to poison the human body than boar's flesh.

(A.B.O.R.I., Vol. XXIII).

⁸ सेभिक्षु च सेवन में व मन्त्र व भजन व भजिज्जमार्ण पेहाए तिल्पुर्यं व याए साए उववत्तिन्नमार्ण पेहाए नो चाहं उव संधिक्षिनु द्वा भा सिद्धजा तत्त्वं गिलाण जीसाए ।

Aca. II. 1.3.

सागिनाच्चो शविदल कृदाश्चो धतिरिच्छ चित्तजाच्चो भववाच्छिणाच्चो लक्षणिवं वा तिवाचि श्रणविकृत मभासिक्षजतं पेहाए अफसुकं भणे सणिजाति ।

Aca. II. 1.12.

⁹ उद उल्ल थीव लंसत्तं पाणा निल्लिया महि ।

दिया ताइ विषज्जेज्जा राई तत्त्व कहं चरे ?

एमं च वोसं ददूणे नायपुत्तेण भासियं ।

सबवाहारं न भुजेति निभेणा राइभोवर्णं ।

Dasa. VI. 25-26.

⁴ *Av. Cu.* II. p. 202, *Sutra.* II. 6.37.42.

⁵ *Aca.* II. 1.4.247, c.f. I. 9.274.

Bṛhatk. Bha. 1.12.39, *Das v. Su.* V. 1.73, *Nisi. Cu.* 16, p. 1034.

⁶ Mahāvīra himself is said to have taken the flesh of a pigeon. (*Bhag. XV.*)

⁷ This may also have led to a considerable improvement in the preparation of vegetarian dishes.

See B.C. LAW, *Mahāvīra*, p. 55.

⁸ *Vin. Mv.* IV. 17, *J. I.* 154, 334.

small bees, of big bees and of a third variety called *Kuttiya*.¹ But sugarcane was the most important source of sweet ingredients.² Juice of sugarcane was also extracted with a machine and was used in plenty.³ Pundravardhana was noted for its sugarcane crop.⁴ We learn that flour and ashes of dried sugarcane were used in preparing *gula* from the juice of sugarcane.⁵ It was so important an article of food that even the Buddha included it among the food articles which he allowed to his followers.⁶ *Phanita* and sugar were other important products of sugarcane which were in common use.⁷ Sugarcandy (*Matyayadika*) is also mentioned in the Jain canon.⁸

¹ Av. Cr. II. 319, Aca. II. 1.4, *Uttara*, XIX, 70.

² Vin. IV., *Anguttara*, III, 76, IV, 179, *Milind*, 46, *Dhamma* Ti. IV, 199, *Petavatthu* Ti. 124, J. I. 339, IV, 174, 466, *Uttara*, Ti. II, p. 23.

³ J. I. 339, II, 240, IV, 160-61, VI, 339, *Vin. Mv.* VI, 35.6, *Uttara*, XIX, 53, *Bhāskh. Bha.* Pi. 575, *Bhag.* XXI, 5.

⁴ *Tandula* Ti., p. 2(a).

There were two kinds of sugarcane *Pashra* (pale yellow) and *Kajal* (dark purple). The former gave its name to Pundravardhana (Bengal to the east of the Ganges) and the latter to Kajolaka (Bengal to the west of the Ganges).

See Arch. Survey of India Report 1879-80, Bihar and Bengal Vol. XV, p. 38, quoted by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 91.

⁵ गुले दिट्ठिष्ठि छार्किष्ठि पक्षिपत्ते ।

Vin. Mv. VI, 16.7.

J. I. 123, Av. Cr. II. 319, *Vin. Mv.* VI, 23-27.

Also see Appendix II.

⁶ इमानि लो पक्ष्य भेषजनानि सेव्यादीदम् रुपितवनीतम् तेलम् मधु काणितम् भेषजानि ।

Vin. Mv. VI, 199.

The Buddha allowed *Gula* to sick persons and water of *Gula* to healthy persons.

Mahavagga (H) VI, 4.6.

C.f. Aca. II. 1.4.

⁷ *Phanita*—See (6) above.

Vin. Mv. VI, 199.

अधमिकेम् तेलमधुकाणितादीनिपि वनमूलफलाफलानि पि अमधुरानि होन्ति निरोजानि ।

J. I. 334.

C.f. *Vin.* II. 177, *Digh.* I. 1.41, *Vimana*, 35-40, J. I. 340, 386, Aca. II. 1.4.

Sarkara

सणिता सार्वम् सरस्वरनुष्णम् वाचवत्यम् खादिता ।

J. 442.

C.f. J. I. 154, III. 110, IV. 114, 379, V. 384, *Naya*, XVII, 203, *Panna*, XVII, 227.

⁸ जो भिक्षु रण्णो खातियाणं खीरं वा दाहं वा नवणियं वा साप्ति वा गुलं वा खोडं वा सकरं वा मङ्गलियं वा शश्मितरं वा भोजणं जायं पद्धिग्नेद् ।

Nisi, VIII, 18.

C.f. *Naya*, XVII, 203, *Panna*, XVII, 227.

Of the sweet preparations sweet fried rice (*Madbulāja*) and sweet balls (*Madbulolaka* or *Modaka*) were in common use.¹ In the Jain works we come across some fine sweets such as *Maydaka* (cakes stuffed with molasses and ghee), *Madbusīrjaka* (also a kind of sweet cake), *Gulalāvaniya*, *Ghayapunna* (the modern *gherara*), *Sibakssara* and *Morāyādaka* (sweets prepared from inspissated milk and shaped like the eggs of peacock)². Some of these may however, be later preparations as they are not mentioned in the early Jain canon nor in the contemporary Brahmanical or Buddhist literature.

SALTS, SPICES AND CONDIMENTS

The Vinaya Piṭaka mentions five varieties of salts—sea salt, black salt, rock salt, kitchen salt and red salt.³ Sea salt was prepared by boiling sea water.⁴ The Jain works mention two other varieties—*Sāvarkula* and *Pāñcūkṣāra* (earth salt).⁵ Other spices used in seasoning food were pepper, long pepper, cumin, asafoetida, myrobalan, dry ginger and turmeric.⁶ Mus-

¹ *Madbulāja*—See p. 59, f. n. 6 above.

Madbulolaka—Vin. Mv. I. 43, VI. 25.3.

² *Modaka*—Nisi Cu. II, p. 693.

Madbusīrjaka—Mrnk. 48.8.

Gulalāvaniya—Golpāpadi in Gujarati.
(see J.C. Jain, p. 123).

Ghayapunna—

प्रयुग्णेहि संख्यन्नेहि वा अवसेवं भक्तविहिं पञ्चलक्षाति ।

Uvr. I. 34.

Sibakssara—Anragadodasao, p. 10.

Morāyādaka—Bhāsk. Bha. I. 328.1.

³ Vin. Mv. VI. 8.

⁴ *Lounākra*—J. VI. 206.

Storing salt in a horn vessel was not permissible.

Vin. Culla. XII. 1.1.

⁵ *Daśavalkalika*, So. III. 8.

⁶ Long pepper (*pippali*).

पिष्ठात वा, पिष्ठित्यृष्णवा, निरिय वा, निरियकुर्वन् वा तिगवेर वा, सिगवेरकुर्वन् वा पहिगाहिज्ज्ञा ।

Aca. 602.

Cf. Vin. Mv. VI. 6, J. I. 325, Jiva. III. 37.

Pepper (*marica*)

तण्डुलस्त्रियदधिनीरकमरिचादीनि शाहारेत्वा ।

J. 277.

तं परिचारेत्वा हरीतकी शामलकी मरिचान्दो च अहोस्ति ।

J. 512.

J. 321, 455, 512, 277, Vin. I, 201, Vin. Mv. VI. 6, Aca. II. 1, 268.

tard and cloves were also used.¹ Some condiments were also used as the word *Vyanjana* is frequently mentioned.² A dish prepared with fruits is called *Sāḍava* in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*.³ Vinegar and sour gruel were in common use.⁴ Some delicacies of food were taken after the meals and are called *Uttaribbarigam*.⁵

OILS AND OILSEEDS

Of the oilseeds sesamum was the most important article of food.⁶ Cakes of *tila* seed (*Sākuli*) were very much liked.⁷ Some of the monks were so fond of cakes prepared with sesamum that once a Buddhist monk specially requested a householder for it and had to express his regret for doing so in the assembly of monks.⁸ Sesamum powder and sesamum *Parpatala* were also

Cumin (*Jiraka*)—

सिंगिवेर जीरकादीनि पितित्वा ।

J. I. 274.

J. I. 244, 274, 42, II. 363, 225, V. 12, VI. 536, Pinda Nir. 54.

Dryginger (*Strigavera*)—

अनुजानामि भिक्षुद्वे मूलानि वेसज्जानि हृतिदृष्टं सिंगिवेरम् वचस् वचत्यम् यतिविसम्
कटुकरोहिणिम् उच्चारम् भद्रमुतकम् ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 201.

J. I. 274, 373, 42, Vin. Mv. VI. 3, Bhag. VIII. 3, Panna. I. 23.31, 45-44.
Asafoetida (*Hinga*)—Vin. Mv. VI. 7, Vin. I. 201.

Turmeric (*Harmā*)—Vin. Mv. VI. 3, Vin. I. 201, Anguttara. III. 230,
233, J. V. 89. Majjhima I. 127, Samyutta. II. 101, Pinda Nir. 54.

¹ Mustard (*Sarjapa*)

भस्तकारको वेणुन गत्वा अल्लसिंगिवेरत्वं सिद्धारथके च पितित्वा पूति
तत्कैल महित्वा ।

J. 373.

Aca. II. 1.8.268.

Cloves (*Lauvarga*)—Pinda Nir. 54.

² Vin. Mv. VI. 33, 17, Vin. Culla. VI. 4.1, VIII. 4.3, Anguttara. III.
49, Vin. II. 214, J. 42, 212.

³ Vin. IV. 2.19.

⁴ Vinegar (*ambila*)—J. I. 244, 304, II. 263, III. 223, IV. 2.1.

Sourgruel (*Kāṣīpa*)—Vin. I. 203. It is also called *Sāvitraka*, Vin.
I. 210, Samyutta II. 3, J. 254, J. 42.

उदरत्वाता वापो हृतिं तो खोण सोवीरकम् अपादि ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 16.3.

⁵ Vin. II. 214, III. 160, IV. 219, Culla (H) IV. 2.1, VIII. 2.2.

⁶ Vin. Mv. VI. 16.33, Samyutta. I. 170, Anguttara I. 130, IV. 108, J.
167, 195, 423, II. 248-49, 301, 325, III. 421, 503, 537, 55, VI. 325, J. 546, Vin.
Mv. VI. 34, Culla. IV. 45, I. 183, Therā Ga. I. 927, Bhāthak. II. 1, Bhag. XXI.
2, Sutta. II. 2, Nisi. III. 18, Bhāthak. Bha. I. 828, Panna. I. 23-40, Aca. II. 1.527.

⁷ Culla. I. 183, J. 146. Dhammapada Ti. II. 7.1, Aca. I. 15, 132.

⁸ Culla. I. 183.

used.¹ Sesamum oil was used by poor people.² Mustard and its powder were also used.³ Its oil may also have been used. Oil was also extracted from castor seed, linseed and safflower.⁴ Oil cake was also used as a food article by some ascetics.⁵ Besides vegetable oils, animal fats were also used as food. The Buddha himself allowed to the monks the use of the fats of a bear, a fish, an alligator, a pig and an ass in case of illness.⁶

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

The Buddha allowed his followers to eat fruits and appointed a distributor of fruits.⁷ Four methods of ripening green fruit, described in Jain canon, were covering them with straw, heating them, mixing them with ripe fruit and allowing them to ripen on the tree.⁸

Some of the common fruits were jujube, mango, rose apple, bread fruit, *Srigātaka* (*trapabispinosa*), *Amalaka* (emblic myrobalan), plantain, cocoanut, dates, *Bilva*, palm fruit, *Priyāla*, *Kapittha*, *Tinduka* (*Diospyros Embryopeltres*), grapes, *Parījaka*, *Karamarda* (*carissa carandas* Linn.) and citrus.⁹

¹ *Tilapittha* and *Tilapappaya*—Aca. II. 1.527.

² Culla. IV. 45., J. I. 340, 325, Vin. Mv. VI. 16, VI. 34.21.

³ *Sarṣapā* *Suttanipāta* 623, 631, p. 122, *Dhamma*. I. 93. *Samyutta* II. 137, J. VI. 174, 336.

Sarṣapakusṭha—Vita. I. 203, II. 131.

⁴ *Eraga* (castor seed) J. I. 109, 423, II. 44, V. 354, 417, VI. 329.

Aśaṭ (Linseed)—Bhag. XXI.

Kusumabha (Safflower)—J.C. Jain, p. 91.

⁵ S.B.B. V., p. 10 (Kassaspasihāñdasutta).

⁶ अनुजानामि भिक्षुवे वसानि भेसज्जाति अन्धवसम् मच्छवत्त्वं, चुसाकावसम्, सूक्तवसम्, गद्रम् वसम्।

Vin. Mv. VI. 1.2.

⁷ अनुजानामि भिक्षुवे अदीर्ज निष्पत्तवीकं अवातकम् कर्त्त परिमुच्यतुम्।

Vin. Mv. VI. 21.

The Buddha allowed five kinds of fruits e.g. mango fruits the skin of which had been removed by fire, of which the skin had been removed with a knife or nails, one without a kernel stone, and one having a kernel stone.

Culla. V. 7.3.

Culla. (II) VI. 6.7.

⁸ Jagdish Chandra Jain, p. 93.

⁹ Jujube—J. II. 260, 547, S.B.B. V. 56

Mango—

अम्बवनेन एव अम्बवनम्, जम्बुवनेन जम्बुवनम्, लक्ष्मजवनेन एव लक्ष्मजवनम्, नानिकेर-
सज्जादियेन नालिकेरसज्जादियम्।

J. 537.

We know from the Buddhist works that vegetables etc

तस्मिन् पत दीपके रायज्ञातानि रात्रिउच्चाकादिभवन्वपनवानालिकेरादीनि
विविधानि फलाकलानि भरित ।

J. 466.

अंबसरदुयं वा, कविट्टसरदुयं वा, दाढिसरदुयं वा, बिलतरडुयं वा.....
पडिगाहिज्जवा ।

Aca. 603.

J. I. 54, 124, 344, 186, 253, 345, III. 98, IV. 264, 265, Das. Bra. J. 495, Panna. I. 23.12.7, Aca. II. 1.8.2.66, Tha. X. 736, Raya. III. 12.

Rose Apple (*Jambū*)—J. 124, 294, 336, 341, IV. 345, VI. 329, Dada Bra. J. 495, Panna. I. 1.3.

Panava (Bread fruit)—J. 57, 123, 466, 480, II. 160, V. 46, J. 347, Panna. I. 23.12.7, Aca. II. 1.8.2.66, Tha. X. 736.

आम्बा कपित्या पतसा साला जम्बू विभीतका हरीतका आमलका भ्रस्तचा बदरानि च
चार तिन्ध रुक्षा च एत्य निप्रोधा च कपित्यना मधु मधुका येवत्ति तीचे पक्कवा च चटुम्बरा
मृदिका च मधुरिका मधु मनेलकाम् दोविला भेकबणा तद्वयम् यिभेदिका नाविकेर लज्जुरी-
नाम् बहुवने ।

J. 547.

Triglochala (*Trapa bispinosa*)

उच्चु नेरने वा अंके कौलुयं वा कसेहणं वा सिंधारिणं वा पूर्ति आलुगं वा.....
पडिगाहिज्जवा ।

Aca. II. 3.3. 350.

Amalaka (emblic myrobalan)—J. I. 450, II. 160, V. 465, J. 495, 512, Vin. Mv. I. 20.20, Vin. I. 201, 278, Panna. I. 23. 12-17, Aca. II. 1.8. 266, Tha. X. 736.

Kadali (plantain)—J. 466, 514, Panna. I. 23. 12-17, Aca. II. 1.8. 266, Tha. X. 736.

Coconut (*Nālikera*)—J. 466, 514, 537, 547, Sutra. I. 44.Dates (*Kharjūra*)—J. 147.

Bilva—J. I. 306, 495, VI. 578, Samyutta. I. 150, Sutta. N. 125, Anguttara. IV. 170, Apādāna III. 346.

Palm fruit (*Tala*)—J. 160, IV. 158.

Pryjala—J. 495.

तिणकानि पियालानि मधुके कामुकारियो ।

फलानि लूटकायानि भुज्ज राजा वरम् वरम् ।

J. 503.

Tippukuta—J. 177, 495, 541, II. 53, IV. 270, V. 58, Digh. I. 178, V. 99., Aca. 613.

See above. J. 503.

Grapes (*Drākṣa*)—J. 547, 183.

Parājaka—Vin. I. 246, J. VI. 278.

Karamorda—J. 415, VI. 536.

Citrus (*Mātulīrīga*)

कविट्टं दोर्विंगं च मूलगं मूल गतियं । २५।

तहेव फलमधुर्ण वीमधुर्ण जाणिया ।

बिहूलगं पिशालं च भामगं परिदर्जए । २६।

sold at the gates of *Uttara Pāñcāla*.¹ The Buddha himself allowed leafy vegetables to his followers.² Stalks and roots of lotus, long bottle gourd, brinjal, cucumber, radish, catmint and mustard stalks were eaten as vegetables.³ The use of garlic and leeks is prohibited because the foul smell deprived the eater of garlic of the company of others. But the Buddhist monks were allowed to use it in case of illness.⁴

Some other fruits are mentioned.

C. f. Panna. I. 1-3.

Nyagrodha—J. I. 298, 324.

Kāñcūrja—J. 503, 540.

Lakura—J. 497.

Āmrātaka—J. II. 111, *Apādāna*. II. 346, *Panna*. I. 1-3.

Kapitttha (wood apple)—J. I. 298, VI. 550, 553, J. 547, 529.

Udumbara—*Dighi*. II. 4, IV. 35, *Ānguttara* IV. 283, J. I. 298, III. 73, 294, VI. 174, 529, 251.

Pomegranate (*Dādime*)—*Panna*. I. 1-3, *Aca*. 603.

¹ J. I. 139.

² *Mahāvagga*. (H) VI. 6.8, *Vin. Mv.* VI. 35.

³ Stalks of lotus (*Bīsu*)—*Aca*. II. 1.7.

Roots of lotus (*Sūlikka*)—*Aca*. II. 1.7, J.L. 79, 96, *Vin. I.* 246, J. VI. 563.

Mustard stalks—*Aca*. II. 1.7.

Long bottle gourd (*alābā*)—J. I. 3. 12, IV. 443, V. 37 VI. 578, *Sutea*. I. 4.4, *Naya*. XVI. 163, *Uttara* Ti. V. 103.

Brinjal—*Panna*. I. 23, 18-19, 26, 37, 38, 43, *Bhag*. XXI. 7, *Uttara* XXXVI. 96, *Aca*. II. 3.3-350, J. V. 37.

Cucumber—*Panna*. I. 23.18-19, 26, 37, 38, 43, *Uttara* XXXVI. 96.

Radish—*Ibid.*

Catmint (*Bīḍītī*)

खण्डन्त श्राव्यं कलम्बानि विडालि तत्कालाणि वृक्षम् सामाकीनीबारम् संधारियम् पश्चात्यम् साकं भिसं मर्युं मात्सं बदरामलकानि च तानि आमरता भुज्यामि अरिषं मे तो परिणहो ।

J. 496.

Other vegetables used as food were *Pindālu*, *Āluka*, *Bīśīmī* (convolvulus), *Kadambī* (convolvulus repens), *Bidurīkanda*, *Kāravelī*, *Pōlaka*, *Svastika* and *Māndūkī*. The last three are leafy vegetables.

Panna. I. 23. 18-19, 26, 37, 38, 43, *Uttara* XXXVI. 96.

वृक्षं साएणं वा, सुरियम् साएणं वा मदूकियं साएणं वा अवसेसं सागविहृं पच्चक्षानि ।

Uva. I. 38.

पालुकं मालुकं एणं अवसेसं भाद्रय विहृं पच्चक्षानि ।

Uva. I. 39.

⁴ Some Buddhist nuns are said to have pulled out practically all the onions from a field. This shows that some of them were very fond of onions.

(J. 136.)

Bhikkhuni Pātimokkha. *Pacittiya* (H) 4.1., *Culla*. (H) V. 6.4.

Garlic (*lasuna*)

या एन विभूत्तो लगुणम् खाद्येय पार्चितियम् ।

Vin. IV. 259.

Vin. II. 140, IV. 258, *Culla*. V. 6.4., *Aca*. II. 3.3-350.

Leeks—*Vin.* IV. 259.

INTOXICATING DRINKS

From the Buddhist and Jain works we learn that liquor was manufactured and consumed on a large scale.¹ Taverns and drinking shops are frequently mentioned.² At the time of festivals, feasting and drinking were resorted to and friends were invited.³ It is stated that Cāṇḍa Pajjota drank for three days continuously when Vatsarāja Udayana was brought alive.⁴ Jain sources also mention drinking to excess. King Duvaya is said to have entertained the members of a marriage party with many kinds of liquors and wines.⁵ From the Jārakas we learn that even women and hermits drank hard on some occasions.⁶

But people were well acquainted with the evils of drinking.⁷ The princes of Baravai, it is stated, were ruined because they were addicted to drinking Kādambati wine.⁸ Even dealing in strong liquors is forbidden.⁹ The Buddha and Mahāvīra did not allow their followers especially monks indulgence in wines.¹⁰ The Jain canon does not even permit monks to reside at a place

¹ J. I. 116, 211, 268, V. 12, VI. 328, J. 141, VI. 505, Bhāsk. I. 2.4. Uttara XIX. 70, Bhāg. V. 2.8, Vipaka. II. 19, Nisi. Cu. I. 511.

² J. I. 116, 211, 268, VI. 328, 545.

³ Flags were used to distinguish liquor shops from other shops. Bhāsk. Bhā. II. 35.39.

⁴ J. 142, I. 362, II. 240, VI. 161, J. 545, VI. 238.

⁵ Dhammapada Āṭhikāthā. I. 193.

⁶ Naya. 16, p. 379.

⁷ Surāpāna. J. 81, J. 512.

⁸ Surāpāna. J., Kumbha. J.

⁹ Uttara. Th. 2, p. 36 2.

¹⁰ Anguttara. III. 208.

¹¹ सुरामरयपानश्च यो नरो अनुशुल्गति ।

इथेवमेत्यो लोकस्यं मूलं छनति श्रातनो ।

Dhammapeda, p. 247.

सुरामरयपाने पादितिवन्ति ।

Bhikkhu Patimokkha. V. 11.

Cf. Vin. Mv. I. 56, Anguttara III. 7.70.

तुहुं पिष्या सुरा सौहूं मेर आय महूणिष ।

पक्षिक्षीयोमि चल्लं तीव्री वसा हहिराणि च ।

Uttara. XIX. 71.

हिते वले मुका वाई माइले पिसुणे सडे ।

भुजमाणे शुर्दं भंहे सेय मेयं निमर्दई ।

Uttara. V. 9.

जे मज्ज नंस लमणं च भोज्वा । यनहेय वासं परिकण्यपति ।

Sutra. I. 7.13.

Cf. Jiva. III. 37, Naya. XVI. 105.

where jars of wine are stored.¹ But both the followers of the Buddha and Mahāvīra were allowed to use wine in cases of illness.²

Strong liquors are called *Madja* but the general word for all kinds of intoxicating drinks prepared from cereals is *Sura*.³ The Vinaya, mentions five kinds of *sura*—prepared from rice meal, from cakes, from boiled rice, from ferment and with spices.⁴ *Majreya* (spiced wine) seems to be very popular at this time.⁵ *Vātrupi* (a strong liquor), the wine prepared from *Madhuṅka* flowers (*Basia Latifolia*), *Prasannā* (a variety of *sura*) and *Sidbu* (prepared with the juice of sugarcane) were other intoxicating drinks in use.⁶ From the Jain canon we learn that liquors prepared from palm fruit, *Jāti* flowers, *Kadamba* fruit were also used.⁷ A

¹ Brāh. IX. 17.

² Vin. Mahāvagga. VI. 1.16, Brāh. Bha. II. 3413, Naya. V. 80.

³ Patimokkha. 21, Dhammapada 247, J. 466, Naya XVI. 179.

⁴ सुरा नामि चिरचूरु, प्रवसुरा शोदनचूरु किण्णपक्षिक्षता संभारसंयुता नेरेय नाम पुष्कासव कलासबो मध्वासबो गुडासबो लंभार लंभूतो ।

Vin. IV. 110.

⁵ तो सुरा उच्छुरेन मेरयन् कुल्वा पिविस्ताम ।

J. 466.

Cf. Dhammapada. 247, Patimokkha. 51.

See Ch. IV. for the preparation of *Majreya*.

सुरं च महुं च मेरयं च जाई च सिधुं च पृष्णं च ।

Vipaka. para. 40.

सुरा मेरय पानक्षव दो नरो अनुयुक्तजाति ।

दृष्टवयेत्तो लोकहिन्दे मूलं खनति अतनो ।

Dhammapada. 247.

सुरं वा मेरयं वा विश्वरं वा मज्जगं रसम् ।

स ताप्तवं न पिबे भिक्षु यस सारक्षता मप्पणो ।

Daśavaikāśika. V. 2.38.

⁶ *Vātrupi*—

वा तालक्षरूरसे मासृता वा हि वास्ती ।

Dravya Guṇa Viñāna. II, p. 33.

J. I. 47, Jiva. III. 37.

Madhuṅka (from *Madhuṅka* flowers)—Av. Cu. II. 171.

Prasannā—for preparation see Ch. IV.

Naya. XVI. 105, Vipak. para. 40.

Sidbu (distilled from juice of sugarcane) Uttam. XIX. 70, Naya. XVI. 105, Vipak. para. 40.

⁷ *Telakkā* (a wine prepared from the palm fruit), *Jambū*, XX. 99, Jiva. III. 264, Panna. XVII. 364.

Jāti (an intoxicating drink from *Jāti* flowers) Vipaka. II. 19.

Kadambā (distilled from ripe *kadamba* fruit) Uttaradhyayana. Ti. II. 36.

strong intoxicating drink which did not lose its true nature even when diluted a hundred times, is called *Satas*.¹ Some other varieties etc. are also mentioned.²

DRINKING WATER AND OTHER BEVERAGES

Cool water brought from mountain springs was used for drinking purposes.³ Buddhists used eight kinds of strainers to purify drinking water as they were not allowed to drink water full of insects.⁴ The Jains regard rainwater as the best⁵ but water of springs, frost, wells, tanks and dewdrops was also used for drinking.⁶

In this period many syrups were prepared from fruits etc. The Buddha allowed eight kinds of beverages to his followers. Syrups were prepared with ripe mango juice, rose apple, plantain fruit, grapes, edible root of waterlily, honey, *Parasaka* fruit and coconut.⁷ Sometimes syrups prepared with *guḍa* and

बहुरं जावर गोरुवाणं सोलेहिय, तलिए लिय, भजिए हिय, परिचुक्केहिय, तावणहिय सुरं च महूं च मेंरं च जाइं च लिथं च पसणं च।

Vipaka, para. 40.

¹ J.C. Jain, p. 125, Jambu, 20, p. 99 fr. Jiva 3, pp. 264a f.
Panca, 17, p. 364 f.

² *Candraprabhī*, *Mayūrītāka*, *Rupabha*, *Jambūphala*, *Kālikā*, *Dugdabijali*, *Myālikāsāra*, *Vāsītī*, *Savīra*, *Kharjūrāndra* and *Supāvukṣmāra*.

(J. C. Jain, p. 125).

³ अतिथि मे पानीम् सीतम् आभासम् गिरिगम्भरा।

ततो पिव महाराज स च त्वं अभिहृतसीर्ति।

J. 540.

⁴ *Bhikkhu Patimokkha* (H) V. 20 and 62.

The Buddha also allowed the use of some stands made of wood, stone or bricks for keeping water jars.

Colla, (H) V. 2.4.

यो पत निरस्तु जायम् सप्ताणकम् उदकम् परिमूळज्वेय पाचित्तियम्।

Pac. XX. 62.

Of the eight kinds of strainers the *Daya pariravvama* was a long box, both ends of which strained water which was poured into the centre by means of a pipe. The other strainers were a filter with four pipes (*Offanika*), regulation water pots (*dharmakaravas*), corner of the upper robe, cross seams, short cross seams, circular seams, and short circular seams. (Vin. III. 102, III. 177, 302, Colla. XIII. 2., Via. Mv. VIII.).

⁵ मतलिबवोदण्णं प्रवत्ततं पोणिविहृ पच्चक्षताति।

Uva. I. 41.

⁶ Aca. I. 13. 108.

⁷ अनुजानादि चिक्कये भद्र पातानि : अन्वपानम् वम्बुपानम् चौचपानम् मोचपानम् मधुपानम् मुद्दिकापानम् सालुकपानम् फालसकपानम्।

Vin. I. 246.

sugar were also used.¹ All these beverages were used in the evening as the followers of the Buddha did not take their meals in the evening.² The Jain works mention some other syrups such as those prepared from dates, pomegranates, green bamboos, jujube, myrobalans and tamarind.³

The Jain monks were not permitted to drink water used for washing rice, sesamum, chaff, or barley as also that used for preparing dough. Sour gruel was also not allowed to them.⁴

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The Buddhists, generally had a separate dining room and a store house for food stuffs.⁵ Food was also available on the shops in the market.⁶ The rich no doubt had their expert cooks. The Buddha appointed a separate officer to distribute food.⁷ The art of cooking was so developed that it is considered one of the twenty five prominent occupations of the period.⁸ Eighteen kinds of solid foods are referred to in a Jātaka,⁹ and the process of flavouring cooked preparations with cumin and asafoetida (*Dhāpaka*) was well known.¹⁰ The Jain sources mention eighteen kinds of seasoned foods (*Vyanjana*)¹¹ and a number of

¹ *Gupadaka*—Vin. Mv. VI. 27.

Sakkhaṇḍaṇḍaṇḍa

राजा अम्बानं तच्च अपनेत्वा सुकर्मरं पग्निगित्वा सबम एव महित्वा थे रस्य पत्तन् पूर्वेवा अदासि।

C.f. J. 476.

J. I. 281.

² *Vin. Mv. VI. 6.6*, *Digh. Part. I. p. 5*, (*Bhāgavata*).

³ अंबपाणगं वा, अंबाडगपाणगं वा, कविट्ठपाणगं वा, मारुदिगपाणगं वा, मृदियपाणगं वा, दारिडपाणगं वा, स्त्रज्ञूरपाणगं वा, णालिएरपाणगं वा, करीरपाणगं वा, आमस्तगपाणगं वा, चिचापाणगं वा, मण्णवरं वा तद्वपागारंपाणगवार्य सकणम् पदि गाहिङ्गा।

Acs. I. 399.

⁴ से भिक्षु वा जात खेलने के लिये पुण धाणग जावं कणिक्का, तं जहा तिलोदारं वा, मुक्तो-दग्नं वा, जबोदगं वा, आयत्नं वा, सोवीरं वा, सुदविष्वंवा, यस्सि खलु पडिल्लाहि वंसि अप्ये पन्ना कम्पे लोहै पडिमाहिङ्गा।

Acs. I. 642.

⁵ *Upasthānāsala* (a dining room)—*Cull. Sansanakkhandhyā VI.*

Kappabbhāvi (a store house)—J. 545.

⁶ *Ocānyugbara* (shop of a cook)—J. 545, J. III. 287, V. 290, VI. 276, V. 170.

⁷ *Khajjabbhājaka* (a distributor of food)—*Vin. II. 176, III. 38, 135.*

⁸ *Ajatashatru* mentioned it to the Buddha.

⁹ J. 26, J. I., p. 185.

¹⁰ *Dhāpaka*. (Vv. 43.)

¹¹ The eighteen kinds of *Vyanjana* are:—

1. *Sapta* (pulse soup), 2. *Odūra* (boiled rice), 3-5. Three kinds of meat, 6. Cow's milk, 7. *Jūsa* (water of boiled pulses), 8. *Bhakka* sweets, 9. *Gulalāvapīya* (gol pāpādi etc.), 10. *Milāphāla* (bread fruit), 11. *Hari-*

sweets such as *ghṛtāpūra*, *khaṇḍakas* and *Maṇḍakas*¹ and saline preparations such as small round balls prepared with pulses and *parpatalas*.² The preparation of all these delicacies shows a high stage of development in the culinary art.

Buddhist monks generally used utensils made of copper, wood or clay.³ Utensils made of gold, silver and precious stones were used only by the rich, while the common people used copper, wooden, or skin vessels and the poor used only leaf pots and earthenware.⁴ When earthen vessels were broken the Buddhist monks were allowed water vessels of three kinds—brass pots, wooden pots and skins.⁵ In the *Cullavagga* it is considered improper to store salt in a horn vessel because by keeping salt in a hollow horn the Buddhist monks acquired a possession.⁶

The common implements used by the Buddhist monks were a water jar, a drinking cup, a water bag, a basket, a cooking pot and a pan.⁷ A round tub like vessel for keeping soft food

juṣa (Cumin), 12. *Sāgā* (vegetables), 13. *Rasīku* (*Sikkharini*) 14. *Pāma* (drinks) 15. *Pāṇīya* (water), 16. *Pāṇaka* (beverages), 17. *Sāga* (*dabibrāḍī*)
Tha. III. 135.

J.C. Jain, p. 123.

Cooked food is classified into four categories—well dressed food in general (*Snātam*), well cooked food (*rapakram*) such as *Ghṛtāpūra*, flavoured food (*Subṛtam*) such as soup and *Yasīgn* and much sweetened food such as *Maṇḍakas*.

¹ See p. 60, f. n. 4, p. 69, f. n. (1) and (2) above.

² See p. 62, f. n. 2.

³ *Culla* (H) V. 1.10., *Culla*. (H) V. 74.

⁴ कच्चन तटुके यथुलाजि सक्षरोदकान्द दाषेत्वा।

J. 476.

Culla, (H) V. 1.10, c.f. *Naya*, Th. I. 42(a) J. 26.

Culla. V. 16, *Uva*. XXXVIII. 173.

Pāṇapāṭa (leaf pots)—J. I. 415.

Eighteen kinds of utensils—such as those made of iron, copper, lead, bronze, silver, gold, precious stones, ivory, horns, cloth, leather, stone and conchshell are mentioned in *Nisi*. IX. 1.

⁵ *Culla*, V. 16.2.

⁶ *Culla*, XII. 1.1.

⁷ *Bhṛigra* (water jar)—*Dighi*. II. 172, *Anguttara*. IV. 210, J. I. 266, *Uva*. XXXVIII. 173.

Saraka (drinking cup)—J. I. 157, 266, J. 125.

Thāniku (a water bag)—*Culla*. V. 9. 1-4.

Pīṭaka (a basket)—*Vin. Mv*. VI. 25.

Kumkbi (a cooking pot)—*Vin. Mv*. VI. 25, *Ghaṭikāṭasutta*, 81.

Tatṭaka (a dish)—J. 476.

Pariyoga (a dish)—*Ghaṭikāṭasutta*, 81.

Kapāḍiya (a pan)—J. 268.

was called *Ālindā* and a basket for keeping solid food *gopitaka*.¹ A cover for alms bowl was called *Pīḍopadbhāna*.² In the Jain works we also have such implements as a knife, a sieve, a mortar, big and small jars, kettle for cooking, tumbler and jars having necks like that of a camel.³ The earliest reference to a spittoon is found in the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinayapitaka*.⁴

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

The Buddhist works lay down hospitality as a duty and state that alms giving cleanses the mind from the ditt of the sins of selfishness and cupidity.⁵ Wherever the Buddha went the laity were anxious to feed the whole order.⁶ The Jains clearly advocate that even a *Cāṇḍāla* guest should be fed with honour.⁷

Both the Buddhists and the Jains were very particular about the purity of food. The Buddha allowed food to his followers only when they had cleaned their teeth with a tooth stick.⁸ They are not permitted to drink water before it is cleaned by a strainer.⁹ The Jains were not expected to take any fruit or

¹ *Ālindā*—*Vin.* Mv. III. 15.9, *Uva.* VII. 4.

G opitaka—*Vin.* Mv. III. 15.9.

² M.S.V. I. 84.2.

³ *Sāttva* (a knife)—*Sutra*, I. 4.10.

Suptayat (a kettle for cooking)—*Sutra*, I. 4.12.

Kshatragula (a sieve)—*Ibid.*

Kshatragulā (a mortar)—*Ibid.*

The *Uva.* VII. 4 mentions *Karas* (small jars), *Varas* (big jars), *pīḍapūṇe* (cooking pots), *ghāṭas* (water jars), *Adhagbhadra* (half water jars), *Kalasas* (jars), *Alījora*, *Jambū* (tumblers), *Uttipya* (jars having necks like those of camels).

⁴ *Vinayapitaka* Ed. by H. Oldeberg 1879, Vol. I, p. 271.

Also see 'History of the Spittoon in India' by Dr. P. K. Gode, A.B.O.R.I., Vol. XXVI, Parts III & IV, pp. 204-214.

⁵ S.B.B. I. 3, XIII. 38.

⁶ *Digh.* (H) 30 *Lakkhaṇa Sutta*.

Generally the invitation to Bhikkhus was issued on the previous day, *Majjhima* (H) 15.

Suptiya, a follower of the Buddha, is said to have cut off the flesh of her own thigh to save the life of an ailing Bhikkhu when it could not be had it being a holiday in the meat market in Benares. This shows that the spirit of hospitality had become a part and parcel of Indian social life.

पौर्वनिक गहन्तां च रामांसम् उक्तविद्वा दायिवा ग्रहसि।

Vin. Mv. VI. 13.3.

⁷ *Uttara*, XII.

⁸ *Cella*, V. 5. (Hindi).

⁹ See p. 76, f. n. (4) above, Pac: XX, 62.

vegetable before they had fully satisfied themselves that it did not contain any living being.¹ For the same reason eating food at night is condemned.² Both the Jains and the Buddhists did not believe that food was defiled by the touch of a person if he was born in a low caste.³ Whosoever be the giver they were expected to accept and eat their food with respect,⁴ even if it be coarse food.⁵

The Buddha laid great emphasis on eating food obtained by lawful means. According to him the leavings of a householder or a dog were better than food obtained by unlawful means.⁶ A monk was not allowed to dine with the order if he committed a sin.⁷ We learn from the Jātakas that Brāhmaṇas had no objection to taking food with Kṣatriyas but they generally avoided the leavings of others and if they did not do so they were excommunicated.⁸ A Brāhmaṇa repents for eating the food of a Cāṇḍāla,⁹ and a Kṣatriya refuses to dine with his own daughter because she was born of a Sūdra wife.¹⁰ Brāhmaṇas are excommunicated for using water mixed with the rice which the Cāṇḍāla had used.¹¹ In the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra there is a story stating that Brāhmaṇas refused to give food to a Cāṇḍāla ascetic.¹²

The Buddha laid down several rules to see that his followers practised moderation in food. They were not allowed to take midday meal in the afternoon.¹³ No monk was allowed to take

¹ Nisi. IV. 21.

² See p. 67, f. n. 3 above.

³ See p. 79, f. n. 8 above.

⁴ Bhikkhu Patimokkha. VII. 27, 31, Bhikkhu Patimokkha. (H) VI, 27 and 31.

⁵ Bhikkhuni Patimokkha. IV. 30.

⁶ न चापि मे सीमाली सो भवस्तो

य होति चतम् गिहिनो सुन सस्त वा

ये के चि भोगा इय भम लदा

सन्दो भवस्तो अनवज्जोति दुतोति ।

⁷ Culla. I. 5.6.

⁸ J. II. 319-20, J. 179, IV. 388.

⁹ J. II. 82.

¹⁰ J. IV. 144.

¹¹ J. IV. 388.

¹² Uttara. XII.

¹³ Culla. XII. 1.1, S.B.B. V. p. 333, Bhikkhu Patimokkha., Mahavaggga (H) VI. 6.12.

quantity of food more than what was necessary to sustain life.¹ They were not allowed to store food in ordinary times.² But some food stuffs, which were given to the convalescent monks as tonics such as ghee, butter, honey, oil and sugar, could be preserved for a week.³ At a time the monk could not accept more than three bowls of food.⁴ The Jains also insist on eating as much food as is necessary to sustain life,⁵ and believe that the body is purified by keeping fasts.⁶

Some idea of the food of children can be had from a Jātaka.⁷ The food of the students consisted chiefly of rice and rice gruel. On being invited to dinners, however, they were served with sugar, jaggery, curds and milk.⁸ They were expected to avoid rich food (*Prasāda*) as it did not suit their stage in life. They are advised to be moderate in eating and drinking.⁹

¹ Bhikkhu Patimokha (H) V. 35-37., Majjhima (H) 39. (Mahassapura).

² Bhikkhu Patimokha (H) V. 38., Mahavagga (H) VI. 5.1, Majjhima (H). 53.

³ Mahavagga. VI. 3.4.

⁴Cf. चरन्विहे वि आहारे राई भोद्यन वज्ञाणा।

सत्रिही संचासो चेय, वज्जे पव्वो मुदुनकारम्।

.. Uttarā. XIX. 30.

⁴ Culā. VII. 3.13, 34, Bhikkhu Patimokha (H) VII. 29,30, (H) 36. Bhikkuni Patimokha (H) VI. 29, 30, 36.

⁵ जहा दवनी पउरिन्धने वणे समाधानो नोवतामं उवेद।

एविनिदयनी विद्याम भोद्यनो न वंभयारिस्त विद्याय कस्तर्ई।

Uttara XXXII. 11.

Uttara. I. 32.

अथाय उंडं चरद विसुङ्दं जवलट्ठया समुदायं च निष्ठं।

अलदुयं नो परिदेवाएज्जा लदूं न चिकत्थई त पुञ्जो।

Dasa IX. 4. 3.4.

संधार सेज्जा सज भत पाणे, ग्रणिच्छया ग्रहसामे विसर्ते।

जोएवं मणाणजितोस एज्जा, संतोस पाहन्नरए स पुञ्जो।

Dasa. IX. 4. 3.5.

⁶ अणसण मूणो दरिया भिक्षायरिया रत परिज्जामो।

काय किलेसा संतीणयाय वउमो तवो होई।

Uttara XXX. 8.

⁷ Jātaka VI. 3-6.

⁸ एक दिवसं निमन्तने एकव्वे माण वा गुसम् दधिना भुज्जिशु एक चे क्षीरेन।

J. I. 123.

⁹ नोपनीयं आहृता हवइ से निमन्त्ये तं कहू मिति चे? आयरियाहू-निमन्त्य स लतु पशीं प्राहारं। आहारे माणस्स बम्भयरिस्स बम्भवेरे संका वा कंपा वा विइगिज्जा वा समुप्पजिज्जा भेदं वा लभेज्जा उम्मायं वा पाउणिज्जा, दीहूकालियं वा रोगा यं कं हवेज्जा के वसि पद्ध-

Both the Buddhists and Jains lay emphasis on simplicity of food for monks. The Buddhist monks were advised to avoid a meal to be taken by three persons together (*Tikabbojana*) as also a group meal (*ganebojana*) because they might get fond of well cooked and sweet things.¹ The Buddha prescribed that a healthy Bhikkhu should not request a householder to provide such rich food stuffs as ghee, butter, oil, honey, sugar, fish, meat, milk and curds.² The Jain monks were not allowed to take highly nourishing food such as milk, curds, ghee, oil, etc. because such nourishing food makes one overstrong and desires rush upon him as the birds rush upon a tree laden with sweet fruit.³ The Jain monks were expected to visit only those places where coarse food such as *Kulmāsa* was provided.⁴ Jain monks should not take too much interest in the food preparations.⁵

तात्री यम्मात्रो भसेज्जा । तम्हा खलुमो निमात्ये पणीय आहारे ज्ञा ।

Uttara. XVI. 7.

नो यद्यमात्राए पाण भोपण आहारेता हवइ से निमात्ये ।

Uttara. XVI. 8.

¹ Culla. VII. 13.

² Bhikkhupatimokkha (H) V. 39, Bhikkhunipatimokkha V. 5. 222-229.

³ Uttara. XXX. 4.

रसायनात् न निसेविष्वा, पायं रसा दित्त करा नरायनम्

दित्तं च कामा समभिद्वंति दुमं जहा सात्रकलं च पस्ती ।

Uttara. XXXII. 10.

पणीयं भत्त दाणं तु लिप्पं मय विवहृणे ।

द्वंभवेत रसो भिक्षु निज्जसो परिवज्जए ।

Uttara. XVI. 7.

⁴ वस्ता णिवेत सेवेज्जा सीय पिण्डं पुराण कुम्मात्म

अदु वृग्कसं पुलारं वा जवगट्टाए निसेवए मर्यु ।

Uttara. VIII. 12.

अविद्यामनं नेव जवोदर्थं च सीय सोवीर जवोदर्गं च ।

न दीजए पिण्डं नीरसं तु परिवज्जए स भिक्षु ।

Uttara. XV. 13.

परिवाहीर न चिद्धेज्जा चिक्षु दत्तेत्तरं चरे ।

पहिल्पेण एसिता चियं कालण भवल्लए ।

विभूसा इत्थं संसमो पणीय रसभोयण ।

न रसायनम् लेतिरस विसं ताज उदं जहा ।

Dasav. VIII. 37.

⁵ मुद्दे सणाए न च्चाणं तत्थ ठवेज्जन भिक्षु ग्रव्याणग् ।

जायाए पाण मेसेज्जा रसगिद्देत लियो भिक्षाए ।

Uttara. VIII. 11.

अलोलभिक्षु न रसेसु गिद्दे चल चरे जीविय नाभिक्षीसे ।

इडिक्कं च तपकारण पूर्णं च चए टिक्कणा अणिहे जेत भिक्षु ।

Dasav. X. 17.

They were not expected to declare the qualities of food for the same reason.¹ An ideal monk according to the Buddha, does not kill any animal for food, accepts only one course, does not take food at improper times. He does not accept uncooked foodgrains, or meat.² The Buddha did not allow the monks the use of stuffed couches and chairs when taking food.³

It appears that the diet of the Buddhist monks consisted of milk rice in the breakfast, rice and curry at lunch and slight repast consisting of ghee, butter, oil, honey or molasses in the afternoon. They did not eat anything at night.⁴ We learn that other ascetics generally lived on leaves, bulbs, roots such as radish, lotus stalks, fruits such as jujube, myrobalan, honey, wild rice and black mustard.⁵ Some naked ascetics took food in a standing posture, they licked their hands clean and refused to accept any invitations. They abstained from fish, meat and strong drinks and lived on pot herbs, wild rice, leather, paring, *baya* (a water plant), scum of boiled rice, broken pieces of rice, oil cake, grasses and such fruits as fell from the tree themselves.⁶ But it appears that some ascetics had no objection to taking meat preparations.⁷ Some monks were fond of eating mangoes, some of onions and some others of garlic.⁸ The

¹ सुखिदिति सुखिक्ति सुखित्ते सुखिते भडे।
सुखिदिति सुखिदिति सावित्तु वज्ज्वेद मुण्णी।

Uttara. I. 36.

² एक भृतिको समस्तो गोतमो रन्तु परतो।
विकालभोजना पटिविरतो समरणो गोतमो।

Digh. Part. I., p. 5 (Bhāgavata)

Digha (H) I. 1, Kalpasutra, V. 8, Culla. VII. 5. 25.37, Mahavagga. I. 56.

³ Culla. VIII. 5.3. V. 19.

⁴ Mahavagga. I. 25. 8, I. 30. 8, Culla. XII. 2.8, Losaka J. 41.

स कथयति भगवन् किमकाले कलेते। भगवान् भावै पूर्णाङ्गकर्त्तापातकातिवेति।
ततो मेष्टकेन गृह्णपतिनां दुरु प्रमुखो भिक्षु संघोज्ञालसाक्षकः भक्तानपानकृद्य चातपितः।

Div. 130.2.

⁵ Bhikkhupāgapāparī J. No. 496, J. I. 251.

⁶ साक भवता सामाक भवता नीवार भवता दद्युल भवता हृष्ट भवता कृष भवता शाचाम भवता पित्रक भवता वन मूल फलाहारा यापे हु पवत्त फल मोणी।

Digh. I. 166, Kassapapāñihārī Sutta

सेयाल भविक्षणो भूताहारा कन्दाहारा पत्ताहारा तथाहारा पुष्पाहारा फलाहारा बीयाहारा।

Bhagavati XI. 9.6.

⁷ Digh. I. 41, Aupapādika Sūtra.

⁸ Aca. II. 7.

Buddha laid down that not more than three Bhikkhus should visit a house on one day. They should also not visit a house in the afternoon, for it might cause inconvenience to the householder.¹ The Buddhist monks were allowed to take molasses, ghee, butter, oil, honey, fish, flesh, milk and curds but were not allowed to drink *Sura* or *Matreya*.²

The Jains were expected to take their meals at a place which was free from insects and green plants, was covered with some piece of cloth and was surrounded with walls.³ From the Jātakas we know that people took food in dining halls and sat on benches while doing so.⁴ Some of them also used cushions.⁵ The Buddha laid down rules of etiquette for the monks. He laid down that while eating, the whole hand should not be thrust into the mouth. A person should not talk with rice in his mouth, eat tossing up balls of food, stuff his cheeks with rice, shake hands, scatter lumps of rice, put out his tongue, make a hissing sound, lick his fingers or bowl or accept a drinking cup with a hand soiled with food.⁶ He also insisted that the same food should be served to all and that even the eldest monk should not begin taking his meal until the cooked rice had been served to all. Eating delicious dishes (*Uttaribhārga*) alone was also considered improper.⁷ It was also laid down that the monk who came back first from his round for alms in the village should make preliminary arrangements for the dining of the whole fraternity such as getting ready the seats, water for washing and drinking, towels etc. He, who came last, was to clean the dining room after he had taken his meals.⁸ We also have interesting details about the customs prevalent at that time. In times of scarcity

¹ Culla. VII. 3.13, XII. 1.1, S.B.B. V, p. 333.

² Culla. VII. 3.39, 51, Mahavagga. I. 56.

³ अप्य एते अप्य वीरामाणं परिकल्पयति सर्वादः।

समयं संचयं भूते जयं अपरियादियम्।

Uttara I. 33.

⁴ J. 31.

Sāla—dining hall.

Ārasayabulaka—bench.

⁵ Culla. V. 19, *Āsittakāpādāna*.

⁶ Culla. VIII. 4-5, Culla. (H) VIII. 2.2.

c.f. Bhikkhu Pātimokkha (H) VII. 27-56, Bhikkhuni Pātimokkha

VI. 27-56, Mahimā (H) 91.

⁷ Culla (H) VIII. 2.2, Sudhābbojana J. 135.

⁸ Culla. (H) VIII. 3.1.

food was distributed to the monks at Rājagṛha by tying tickets with each share.¹

It appears that the food of the poor people generally consisted of such coarse preparations as cold cakes, *Kulmāsa*, fried beans such as *Madga* and *Māya*, shrivelled grain (*Pulaka*), scum of boiled rice (*Āśava*), barley mess, barley water, sour gruel, or butter milk, salt and oil.² The rich on the other hand enjoyed delicious rice gruel, cakes of eighteen kinds and food having a number of flavours. They also took some delicacies (*Uttaribhāṣa*) at the end of their meals.³

The Brāhmaṇas were feasted with meat and rice preparations.⁴ From the Ambaṭṭha Sutta we learn that they lived on boiled *Sāli* rice, pulses from which black specks had been sought out and removed and flavoured with meat sauces and curries (*Vyañjana*) of various kinds.⁵

The Saṇṭajas afforded occasions for big feasts. Feasts were also arranged on such auspicious occasions as the birth of a son. These feasts took place in dining halls where people sat on excellent comfortable seats.⁶

On some routes it was difficult to get food stuffs so the Buddha allowed his followers to take some food for journey (*Pāṭhaya*) such as rice, *madga*, *māya*, salt, *gūḍa*, oil and clarified butter.⁷

The food habits of people naturally differed from region to region. The Kambojas of Uttarāpatha were in the habit of eating insects, moths and some kinds of snakes, and frogs.⁸ While the people of Korkaṇa were fond of fruits and flowers.⁹

¹ S.B.B. Vol. V, p. 247., Culla. VI. 20.

² Mahāvagga (Hindi) VI. 5.1, Kassapasihanāda Sutta. Uttarā. XV.

³ सौतरीभाष्यं पाण्डु विवित्वा अद्वारत्वं विष्वम् खज्जकम् ज्ञादित्वा दानवारसेहि मुखीजनम् भृत्यजनुम् त वहरीति ।

J. I. 186.

सति सहस्रस्य निकाव सुवर्णपातिया सतरस भोजनं भृत्यर्थति

J. II. 319.

⁴ J. 545, VI. 238.

⁵ Digh. I, p. 88, Digh. (H) I. 5.

⁶ Kalpa. Sū., p. 255.

⁷ Mahāvagga (H) VI. 6.4.

⁸ Bhāridatca. J. 543, Barua. II. 259.

⁹ Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya, I. 1239.

To sum up in the early Jain and Buddhist works, rice occupied a more prominent place than barley or wheat. Some fine preparations from cereals such as *Ghayapūṇṇaka*, *Morandaka* and *Khaṭṭakas* and from pulses *Vāṭakas* of many kinds and *Parpāṭas* were made. Milk products and fruits and vegetables of all kinds were widely used. Fruit syrups seem to have been very popular. In the east meat and fish were common articles of food but some people eschewed meat diet as a result of the teachings of Mahāvīra and the Buddha. Drinking on festive occasions was common but the followers of the Buddha and Mahāvīra were expected to avoid it. The Jains were very particular about non-killing of living creatures, hence they used only strained water and avoided all food articles in which there was a possibility of the existence of any insect. The Buddha allowed all food articles necessary to sustain life but the Jain monks were advised to abstain from all food as a last stage in spiritual advancement. It is quite probable that the rules about diet current among the Jains may have come from the code of the Ājivikas.

CHAPTER IV
FOOD AND DRINKS
(300 B.C. to 75 A.D.)

For the period 300 B.C. to 75 A.D. we have information from the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the edicts of Aśoka and the accounts of Greek historians. Incidentally Patañjali's great commentary, the *Mahābhāṣya*, also throws some light on the food habits of the Indians. We have utilized all this information in the first section of this chapter. The authorities utilized in the second section are of a date slightly more uncertain.¹

SECTION I (MAURYA AND SUNGA PERIOD)

It appears from the Greek sources that there were two main crops, one ripening in winter consisting of rice and millet and the other ripening in summer, the chief products thereof being wheat and barley as now.² But from Kauṭilya we learn that there was a third crop which was grown between the two main crops. It chiefly produced beans such as *Mudga* and *Māja*.³

CEREALS AND PULSES

Rice and barley continued to be the staple foodgrains.⁴ Besides the old varieties of rice *Sāli*, *Vṛīhi*, *Kodrava* and *Priyamī* two new varieties *Dāraka* and *Voraka* had come into use in Kauṭilya's time.⁵ From Patañjali it appears that *Hāyana* and *Sastika* varieties of rice were quite popular.⁶ No new preparations of

¹ According to the *Mahābhāṣya*, a commentary on the *Jāṇapradhanā* of Kātyāyanīputra, the Rāmāyaṇa contained only 12,000 ślokas in the first century A.D. instead of the present version which has 24,000 ślokas.

² Strabo, XV. Frag. C. 290.

³ शालिनीहिन्दूप्रदत्तित्रिप्रियकुदारकवराकाः पूर्ववापाः । मुद्रगमापशेष्याः मध्यवापाः ।
कुमुमसूरकुलुत्यवग्नोभूमकलायातसीसर्वाः पश्चाद्वापाः ।

Kaut. II. 24; 16-18.

⁴ Kaut. II. 24, McCrindle, p. 127.

⁵ *Dāraka* (*Paspalum Scrobiculatum*)—Kaut. II. 24.16.

Same as *Uddālaka* in *Caraka*.

Voraka—(*Phrasenius Trilobus*)—Kaut. II. 24.16.

⁶ *Hāyana*—Patañjali IV. 1.27, p. 223.3.

Sastika—Ibid IV. 1.93, p. 360. 3.

rice are mentioned.¹ The two varieties of barley one cultivated and the other uncultivated² were commonly used in preparing a mess, a gruel, groats and cakes. Gruel was also prepared with an inferior food grain called *Gavidbhakā*. Groats were now eaten with curds.³ Wheat now occupied a more important place among the cereals than in the previous period, it being invariably mentioned with barley.⁴ Besides the old pulses, pea seems to have become very popular. A soup prepared from it is expressly mentioned by Patañjali. *Rājāmāṣa* had also come into use in his time.⁵ A taboo against the use of *Māṣa* and its preparations is referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya*. *Kulmāṣa* was eaten in this period as well.⁶

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Kautilya mentions an officer called *Go'dhyakāṣa* assisted by two junior persons in charge of milking cows (*dohaka*) and churning curds (*Māntaka*).⁷ Cows were generally milked twice a

¹ The old preparations mentioned are :—

Odana or *Bhakta*—Patañjali I. 1.1. p. 42. 17, III. 1.26 p. 33. 26, McCrindle p. 74. *Prasag*, 28.

Kṛṣṇa—Kaut. II. 12. 5., Patañjali VIII. 3.39 p. 439.12.

Saputri—Patañjali I. 1.47 p. 116.23.

Pūpa—Patañjali I. 1.7. p. 38.5.

Āphūpa—Ibid. I. 2.45. p. 217. 13.

Piṣṭapīḍa—Ibid. II. 1.17 p. 399. 24.

² *Yava* (cultivated barley)—McCrindle, p. 127.

Yavāñi (uncultivated barley)—McCrindle, p. 127., Patañjali IV. 1.49., p. 220.

³ *Siddhaphūṭa* (Cakes)—Kaut. II. 15.41.

Yavaka (a mess)—Kaut. II. 15.40.

Yavāñi (gruel)—Patañjali II. 1.36. p. 388. 25.

Sakūta (groats)—Patañjali I. 1. 57. p. 149. 11.

Yavāñi cooked with *Gavidbhakā* Ibid. IV. 3. 136 p. 323.2.

Dādhiṭṭaka (curds with parched barley meal)—Patañjali. I. 1.49 and

I. 1. 57.

⁴ McCrindle, p. 27, Kaut. II. 24.18.

⁵ The old pulses in common use were :—

Mudga—Kaut. II. 24.17.

Māṣa—Kaut. II. 24.17.

Mashra—Kaut. II. 24. 18.

Kulattha—Kaut. II. 24.18.

Kalāya Sūpa—(a soup prepared from pea)—Patañjali, V. 1.19 p. 344.18.

Rājāmāṣa—Patañjali V. 1.20. p. 345. 25.

⁶ माषा त भोजतव्या इत्यन्ते निषेद्धा भाषि न भूज्यन्ते ।

Mahābhāṣya I. 127.

Kulmāṣa—Kaut. II. 15.

⁷ Kaut. II. 29.

day in the rainy season, autumn and winter, but only once in the spring and summer seasons.¹ Besides cow's milk, milk of buffaloes, sheep and goats was used. Clarified butter was prepared from the milk of these animals.² Curds and churned curds seem to have been popular as a person who sold the latter is mentioned.³ Other products of milk in common use were butter and butter milk. Kautilya lays down that buttermilk should be given to the dogs and pigs, solid part of inspissated milk (*Kārcikā*) to the soldiers with the food, and the liquid part (*Kilāta*) to the cows with fodder.⁴

MEAT DIET

Kautilya mentions a superintendent of slaughter houses⁵ and permits the sale of the flesh of animals recently killed. He lays down that the flesh of those animals which had died a natural death, were killed outside the slaughter house, were giving out a foul smell or were devoid of head or bones should not be sold.⁶ He mentions a vendor of cooked meat and says that for dressing twenty *palas* of flesh, half a *kushtika* of oil, one *pala* of salt, two *dharanis* of pungent spices and half a *prastha* of curds

¹ वर्षशिरद्वेषन्तानुभवतः कालं दुष्टुः । शिशिरवसन्तप्रीष्मानेककात्म् ।

Kaut. II. 29. 29-30.

² श्रीरोपो गवां षूतप्रस्तुः । पञ्चमागाधिको नहितीताम् । द्वितीयाधिको त्रितीयाम् ।

Kaut. II. 29. 34-36.

³ *Dadhi* (curds) is mentioned by Kautilya among sour liquid substances (*dravānduvarge*), Kaut. II. 12.5.

⁴ *Mathitika*—(one who sells churned curds)—Patañjali V. 3.83. p. 415. 18.

⁵ *Haiyanigavina* (butter prepared from yesterday's milk) Patañjali V. 2.23. P. 375-2, 375-5.

Udadhi (buttermilk).

उद्दिष्टव्य वयराहेत्यो दद्युः ।

Kaut. II. 29.23.

Kārcikā (solid part of inspissated milk)

कूचिकां देनाभ्यतार्यमाहरेत्युः ।

Kaut. II. 29.26.

Kilāta (inspissated milk)

किलाटी वाणपिण्याकवलेदाद्यैः ।

Kaut. II. 29. 27.

⁶ *Shāradhyakṣa*—Kaut. II. 26.

⁷ मृगपशुनामनस्तिथ्यमासं रक्तोहर्त विक्षीणीरत् । परिव्यवतः प्रतिपातं दद्युः । बल्लो दृष्टे धेनुस्त्रैषमवस्थाः । परिव्यवस्थिरः दादास्य विग्रहं रक्तं मृतं च न विक्षीणीरत् ।

Kaut. II. 26. 10-14.

are required¹. Fish and seasoned meat were also in common use.² Artisan's evidence shows that people in the hills were mostly non-vegetarians.³ Megasthenes states that Indian philosophers generally abstained from animal food.⁴

Aśoka's edicts show that thousands of living creatures were killed for food in his kitchen before he issued his decree restricting the practice to two peacocks and one deer.⁵ Animals were also killed in the *Samājas*.⁶ From the *Mahābhāṣya* we learn that deer especially the *Sāratīga* variety, and sheep were killed in Patañjali's

¹ *Pakvamātisikha* (cooked meat seller).

शौचिक पाक्वमातिसिको देविका रुद्धा जीवा परिचातमावस्येयुः ।

Kaut. II. 33. 9.

मायापलमिवात्या स्वेहार्थं कुहृवः पलिको लवणस्याद्याः क्षारात्यलयोगो हिष्परणिको कटुप्पेगी दम्भस्त्रावर्धप्रस्थः ।

Kaut. II. 15. 66.

1 *Pala* = 25 *rattis* 1 *Dharaya* = 1½ *rattis*.

1 *Kuduka* = 22 *tolas* 1 *Prastha* = 29 *tolas*.

श्रथधार्यमाथद्विपलशत् दोग्माद्यमातद् । सप्ताशीति पलवातमवपलं च व्यावहारिकम् । तेषामाक्रस्यकुहृवात्यतु भागा वरा ।

Kaut. II. 19. 32-36.

² शुष्कमल्पयमसि कन्दभूलकलशाकरदि च शरकवर्गः ।

Kaut. II. 19. 22.

Kaupiliya calls seasoned meat (*Vallīra*) Kaut. II. 4. 35.

³ Indika XVI.

⁴ McCrindle, p. 99, Strabo XVI. 1. 39.

⁵ इयं वंश लिपि देवान् पिवेना पियदसिना ऐतिहा त्रिद्या नन् किञ्चित् जिवे आत्मभितु एवो-
हित जिवे नैपि वा समाजे कठिये बहुका हि दीता समाज सा देवान् पिवे पियदसी लाजा दक्षति
प्राप्ति पि वा एकतिथा समाज साधुमता देवान् पियसा लाजिने अनुदिवसं बहूति यान
सहसानि आत्मभितु मुपावे से इदानि यद इयं वंश लिपि लेखिता तदा लिनि येवा पानानि
आत्मभितु दुवे मजुसा एके भिन्ने आत्मभितुति ।

Rock Edict. I.

इमानि जातानि अवव्यानि कृतानि तानि यथा शुकः सारिका अरणः चक्रवाकः हृसः
नारदैभुः गेलाऽऽजतुः अन्याक पीलिका दुष्टिः अनास्तिक मत्स्यः वेव वेष्यकः (जीवं जीवकः) ।
गंगा पुष्टक (गंगा कुम्भकृतकः) संकुञ्ज मत्स्यः (शकुल मत्स्यः) कमठः पालः पर्णशशा: सुमरु-
पण्डकः, प्रकणिष्ठः, पूष्टः इवत कपोतः, ग्राम कपोतः सर्वः चतुर्ष्वरः यः, वरिमोर्ण न एति न च
साक्षदेते । एडका न सूकरी च गर्भिणी वा पवस्तिनी वा अवव्या योतका: यापि आवायासिका: ।
बर्धितः कुम्भकृदः न कर्तव्यः । तुपाः सज्जीवाः न दग्धव्यः । जीवेन जीवः न वोष्टव्यः । तिशृणु
चतुर्मलीषु तिष्येष्वैर्ण मास्यां प्रवव्यः । नागि विक्रेतव्यः मोक्षा कुरुः ।

Pillar Edict. V.

Peacock was the only bird which is forbidden by the authors of *Smṛti* but was eaten by Aśoka.

⁶ Kaut. (Mysore 1919), p. 43., Vinaya IV. 267, Mahāvastu. III. 57, 383.
Cf. Mbh. Virata. II. 7. XIII. 15-16.

time for food and there were persons who were fond of flesh.¹ Flesh of deer was cooked with rice and fish were eaten after removing scales and small bones.² It seems that meat having much fat was relished.³ Flesh of village or town cocks and boars was generally avoided,⁴ and it seems that the Brāhmaṇas considered it improper to sell flesh.⁵

SWEETS

Honey was in common use⁶ but the products of sugarcane such as inspissated juice of sugarcane, *gṛdha*, raw sugar, sugar-candy and refined sugar were quite popular.⁷ Even Megasthenes speaks very highly of Indian sugar.⁸ Besides the old sweets

¹ मांसौदनाय व्याहुरति मृगः।

Patañjali II. 3.1, p. 410-1.

प्रवेमांसम्।

Patañjali IV. 2. 60 p. 283-20.

सारं जाग्नि।

Ibid. II. 2. 36. p. 437-21.

Māñjūṣā—Ibid. III. 2. 1. p. 93. 18.

² शक्त वक्तव्यान् उत्सृजति।

Ibid. I. 2.39. p. 912.6.

³ प्रवदानि मांसानि।

Ibid. VIII. 4.16 p. 458. 12.

⁴ मधुव्यो शास्यकुवकुटोऽभव्ययो शास्यशूकरः।

Ibid. I. 1., V. 16.

नागरोऽपि न भक्षयते।

Ibid. VII. 3.14., p. 320-22.

⁵ मांसं न विक्रेतव्यम्।

Kielhorn. I. 25.

⁶ Honey—Strabo. XV. 491, Patañjali I. 1.1., p. 18-19, Kautilya also mentions honey prepared from grapes:

शौद्रं भाद्रिकं च गच्छ।

Kaut. II. 15.17.

⁷ Sugarcane—

Aelian mentions reeds which yielded very sweet milk which did not require honey to be mixed with it.

McCindle, p. 143.

Kaut. II. 15.24.

पाणितगुडमस्यजिकाकाषडशर्वाराः शार वर्णः।

Kaut. II. 15.15.

Phlegita (inspissated juice of sugarcane)—Kaut. II. 15.15.

Gṛdha (molasses)—Kaut. Ibid., Patañjali I. 4.49 p. 333-3.

Matiyappikā (sugar candy)—Kaut. Ibid.

Khappā (raw sugar)—Kaut. Ibid.

Sarkarā (granulated sugar)—Kaut. Ibid., Patañjali IV. 4. 85. p. 334-11.

⁸ Pliny says that the Indian sugar was better than the Arabian sugar (McCindle, p. 122). Megasthenes thought that the Indian sugar-candy was better than that prepared from figs or honey. (Megasthenes X, Strabo XV. 703).

such as *apūpa*, *sākṣī* and *pālā* Patañjali mentions *Modakas*.¹

SALTS AND SPICES

Kautilya mentions a superintendent of salt² and six varieties of salt, rock salt from the Sindhu country, sea salt, *bida* salt, nitre, *sānvaraçala* and *Udbbedaja*.³ Pliny speaks very highly of Indian pepper. The black pepper was considered agreeable to the palate and the white one less pungent.⁴ Other spices in common use were long pepper, ginger, cumin seeds, white mustard, coriander, cloves and turmeric.⁵ Four kinds of cardamom white, reddish white, short and black mottled and friable are mentioned but the green variety was much esteemed.⁶ Some other spices were also used.⁷ Aristobulos states that spikenard, cinnamon and other aromatics were produced in India.⁸

Vinegar was prepared from sugarcane juice, *gada*, honey, inspissated juice of sugarcane, rose apple and jack fruits. A decoction of *mesafrīgi* and pepper was poured into it. Fruits such as cucumber, pieces of sugarcane, mango, and *āmalaka* (emblic myrobalan) were preserved in vinegar.⁹ Sour gruel was also used.¹⁰

¹ *Apūpa*—(sweet cakes)—See p. 88, f. n. 1.
Sākṣī—(sweet cakes)—Ibid.

Pālā—A kind of sweet meat made of *gada*, sesamum and sugar, Patañjali I. 1.1. p. 38. 6.

Modakas were generally prepared with wheat flour fried in ghee and mixed with sugar—Patañjali V. 1.119 p. 366. 9.

² *Latapaddiyakas*—Kaut. II. 12. Clitarchus mentions salt mines in his account of India. McCrindle, p. 99.

³ सुन्धवसामद्रविडयवकारसौवर्चलोद्यनेदजा लवणवर्णः।

Kaut. II. 15.16.

⁴ McCrindle, p. 121.

⁵ पिप्पलीमरीचसूज्ज्वरेराजाजिकिराततिमतगीरसर्वपकुस्तुम्बुचोरकदमनकमहवक शिशु-काषडादिः कट्टुकवर्णः।

Kaut. II. 15.21.

Cloves are also mentioned by Pliny (McCrindle, p. 122).

⁶ McCrindle, p. 125.

⁷ *Coriaka*, *Damanaka*, *Morwaka*, *Sigrū*, *Harihaka*, *Mesafrīgi*.

⁸ McCrindle, p. 28.

⁹ इशुरसण्डमधुकाणिताम्बवपतसामन्यतमो नेष्वज्ज्वली पिप्पली क्वावाभिष्वतो मातिकः पाण्मासिकः रात्रवर्त्तरिको वा चिद्रभितोर्वर्णकेषुकाण्डाभकलायसकावस्तुतः चुडो वा लुक्त वर्णः।

Kaut. II. 15.

¹⁰ दधिधानकम्लादि इवाम्ल वर्णः।

Kaut. II. 15.20.

OILS AND OILSEEDS

The important oil seeds were sesarmum, safflower, linseed and mustard.¹ The Greek writers state that oil was extracted from sesarmum and exported from India.² From Kauṭilya we learn that besides clarified butter and oil animal fats such as, serum of flesh and pith were also used.³ Sesarmum oil was kept in wooden or earthen vessels and used in frying,⁴ but other oils may also have been used in cooking.⁵ From the Mahābhāṣya we infer that it was considered improper for a Brāhmaṇa to sell oil.⁶

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

From the Greek sources we learn that figs, grapes, banana and tamarind⁷ were in common use, but *Karamarda*, *Parūṣaka*, mango, emblic myrobalan, *citrus medica*, the three varieties of jujube, rose apple, cucumber, palm fruit and *rājādāna*⁸ were also eaten. Mango gardens were planted by Aśoka himself.⁹ Patañjali mentions *bimba* (*momordica monodelpha*), pomegranates, and

¹ Kaut. II. 15, II. 24.18.

² McCrindle, p. 127, Strabo, XV. 491, Indika XV. C.7.

³ सपिस्तैल वक्षामृजामः स्मैहाः।

Kaut. II. 15.14.

⁴ उच्चैर्वैत्यस्य लिंगो मूत्राः खारस्य संहताः। मृत्काष्ठ-कोट्ठाः स्मैहस्य पूर्णिरी जन-
स्य च।

Kaut. II. 15.84.

⁵ Other substances from which oil was extracted were *nimbā*, *kusa*, *dvura*, *kapittha*, *madhuñā*, and *īgūḍī*.

षट्कं तैलमत्यधीनाम्। निन्द्रकुशाम्रकपित्यादीर्णं च पञ्चभागं। चतुर्भागिका-
स्तिलकुम्ननवृक्षेभूदीर्णेहः।

Kaut. II. 15. 49-51.

६ तैलं च विशेषत्वम्।

Mahābhāṣya Kielhorn (1892) I., p. 25.

⁷ McCrindle, p. 120. Strabo XV. 492.

⁸ वृक्षाम्लकरम्दान्नविदलामलकमातुलुक्कोलवदरसौषीरकपल्लकादिकलाम्लवर्गः।

Kaut. II. 15.19.

Jambū (rose apple), *panca* (bread fruit), *śidhīṣa* (cucumber).

aryādraka (a kind of cucumber) are mentioned in Kaut. II. 15.

पञ्चाषतिलभलवाणीलक्षारंगोक्षीराजक्षीरंवा कदली वज्रकन्द प्रतीवाणो मार्दव कर।

Telophala (palm fruit)

Kaut. II. 12. 9.

Rājādāna

Kaut. II. 12.2.

Mrduñā (grapes)

Kaut. II. 17.4.

Citrus (mango)

Kaut. II. 24.31.

⁹ Pillar Edict. VII.

Kaut. II. 12.2.

grapes.¹ Some of these fruits may have been imported from neighbouring countries.

Among vegetables Kauṭilya refers to roots, fruits and tubers² as also fruits gathered from creepers.³ The roots mentioned are *Pipalatka* and *Vajraknuda* (*Sūtrana*).⁴ Pot herbs are called *Sāka* or *Harisaka*.⁵ Of the flowers *Kavīdāra*, and of the beans pea were used as vegetables.⁶ It appears from Patañjali that onions were mostly eaten by non-vegetarians⁷ and sometimes used to flavour liquors.⁸ He uses the word *Sākabhojīn* i.e. a consumer of vegetables.⁹

INTOXICATING DRINKS

Megasthenes states that the Indians drank only at the religious ceremonies;¹⁰ but this does not seem to be the actual state of affairs in view of the account of Kauṭilya. There was a superintendent of liquors.¹¹ The liquor shops had many rooms provided with beds and seats and other comforts such as scents and garlands.¹² These shops were situated at stated intervals and

¹ *Bimba* (*momordica monodelpha*)—Patañjali I. 1.58 p. 155.15.

Dādima (*pomegranate*)—Patañjali I. 1.1. p. 38. 5.

Mrdulka (*grapes*)—Patañjali VI. 3. 42 p. 158.16.

Kusala (*jujube*)—Patañjali IV. 3.170. p. 323. 5.

² कन्दमूलकलादिरीपधर्मः।

Kaut. II. 17.11.

शुक्कमत्त्वम् रुक्कन्दमूलकलादिव वा क वर्णः।

Kaut. II. 15.12.

³ केन्द्रधातौ वल्लीफलाचानि, परीवाहाचानि: शूद्धिकेष्टुणां, कूपपर्वतशाकमूलानां, हरिण-पर्वतानां: हरितकानां, पाल्पोलवानां गृह्णयेष्याद्विरहीवेर पिण्डात्मकानाम्।

Kaut. II. 24.31.

पुणकलशाकमूलकन्दशालिकयवीज शुक्कमत्त्वमाहानां पद्मभागं गृह्णीयात्।

Kaut. II. 22.4.

⁴ *Pipalatka*—Kaut. II. 24.31.

Vajraknuda—Kaut. II. 12.9.

⁵ Kaut. II. 13.22, II. 22.4, II. 24.31.

⁶ *Kavīdāra*—Kaut. II. 12.7.

Kalaya (Pea) Ibid.

⁷ Patañjali II. 2.36. p. 437.21.

⁸ अयं पत्राणहना सुरा पिवेत्।

Mahābhāṣya, p. 419. 4.

⁹ Patañjali II. 1.69 p. 406.7.

¹⁰ McCrindle, p. 27. Strabo. XV. 709.

¹¹ *Skridlyatka* II. 25.1.

¹² पानागाराण्यगेकक्षयादिः विभक्तशयनास्तनवन्ति पानोद्देशानि गृह्णयात्येवक्षन्त्यपृतु-मुखानि कारणेत्।

Kaut. II. 15.12.

liquor was sold to persons of well known character in small quantities.¹ Manufacture of wine was a state monopoly but on festive occasions the right of private manufacture of beer for four days was recognised on payment of licence fees.² Women were employed to remove the fermented drugs.³ From Patañjali we learn that there were some people who could drink a complete jar of wine through a pipe made of reeds.⁴ As stated above sometimes liquors were flavoured with the juice of onions.⁵

According to Megasthenes rice beer was the common drink in India; but Kauṭilya gives a detailed account of the method and ingredients of various other intoxicating drinks. *Medaka*⁶ and *Prasāmī*⁷ were manufactured from rice. In an *Asava* extract of *Kapitttha* and inspissated juice of sugarcane were the principal

¹ Kaut. II. 25.

² Kaut. II. 25.

³ Ibid.

⁴ The distilling apparatus resembled the trunk of an elephant, hence a distiller was called *Sundū* (Patañjali IV. 1.32, p. 246-26). *Ghatīndhama* and *Nāgāndhama*—Patañjali III. 2.29, p. 102. 15-16.

⁵ Mahābhāṣya p. 419.4.

⁶ In preparing *Medaka* one drop of water, half an *āphaka* of rice and three *prastha*s of yeast cake were used. The ten ingredients mixed with it were *pāṣa*, *śadra*, *tyavatī*, *clarāṅkā*, *madhu* (honey), *madhūkā*, *dūrī*, *priyangu*, *dūrībaridrī*, black pepper, and long pepper.

मेदकप्रसामासवारिटमेदमधूनामुदकद्रोगम्।

तद्वृत्तानामधिकं त्रयः प्रस्थाः किञ्चस्येति मेदकयोगः।

Kaut. II. 25.7.

मापकलोदोणमाम् गिर्दं वा प्रिभागाधिकतद्वृत्तं सौरटादीनां कार्यिकमापादुक्तः किञ्चवर्णः।

Kaut. II. 25.25.

पागालोद्रतेजोवत्येकावालुकमधुमधुरमाप्रियज्ञादाहृद्धामरिचपिण्डीनां च पञ्चकाधिकां संभारयोगो गेदकस्य प्रसंब्रायाक्षं।

Kaut. II. 25.27.

⁷ In the preparation of *Prasāmī* 12 *āphaka*s of rice flour, five *prastha*s of *Kipī*, and some other spices were required.

द्वादशाकं पिष्टस्य पञ्चप्रस्थाः किञ्चस्य पुत्रकात्वक् फलयुग्मो वा जाति संभारः प्रसामीयोगः।

Kaut. II. 25.18.

From Patañjali we know that it had often an oily substance.

वद्युत्तेजम् प्रसामीः।

Patañjali V. 3.66. p. 421.17.

ingredients,¹ while *Ariṣṭa* was a tincture of medicines.² *Maireya* was a spiced liquor prepared from the bark of *meṣaśṛṅgi* (*Gymnema sylvestre*) and was a favourite drink of the nobles.³ Wines from grapes were in common use.⁴ The two famous varieties *Kāpiśāyana* and *Hārābhūraka* were imported from Afghanistan.⁵ Kauṭilya mentions five varieties of *syrē*, including *svetāśrā*, *bijottarā* and *sāmbārīkā*. In *Sabakāraśrā* the juice of mango fruit and in *rasoītārā* treacle were the chief ingredients; the other three were spiced liquors.⁶ Palm fruit was also used in preparing liquors according to Greek authorities.⁷ Kauṭilya observed that the effects of drunkenness are loss of wealth, insanity, absence of consciousness, loss of knowledge, life, wealth and friends, desertion by virtues and suffering from pain.⁸ It appears from the *Mahābhāṣya* that there was a belief among the Indians that a Brāhmaṇa woman who indulged in drinking would be deprived of her husband's company in the next world.⁹

¹ In the manufacture of *śāava* hundred *paśas* of the extract of *Kapitha*, 500 *paśas* of inspissated juice of sugarcane and one *prastha* of honey were used.

कपित्वं शुद्धा काणितं पञ्चतृतीयकं प्रस्त्रो मधुन् हत्यारात्रं योगः।

Kaut. II. 25. 19.

चोचचिकविडङ्गगजपिप्पलीनां च पञ्चवार्षिकाः कमुकमधुकमुस्तालोधाणां विकारिकश्चायवसंभारः।

Kaut. II. 25.20.

² चकित्सक प्रमाणाः प्रस्त्रेकारो विनाशराणामरिष्टाः।

Kaut. II. 25.21.

³ *Maireya* was a decoction of the bark of *meṣaśṛṅgi* (*Gymnema sylvestre*), *gāvī*, powdered long pepper and black pepper or powder of *harītakī*, *āmalaka* and *ubhītakī* instead of long pepper.

मैषशृङ्गत्वक् नवाचास्त्रिपुतो गुडं प्रतीक्षापः पित्तलीमस्त्रिलंभारस्त्रिफलायुक्तो चा नीरेयः।

Kaut. II. 25.22.

⁴ मृदीका रसो मधुः।

Kaut. II. 25.24.

⁵ तस्य रसदेशो व्यास्यानां कापिशायनं हारादूरकमिति।

Kaut. II. 25.25.

⁶ *Syrē*—Patañjali I. 2.62, p. 242.25.

Same spices were used in the manufacture of *svetāśrā* as are used in preparing *prasāraṇā* variety.

⁷ McClelland, p. 126, Pliny XIV. C. 16(19).

⁸ पान संपर्कं संज्ञा नाशोऽनुन्तरत्स्योन्मत्तत्वमप्रेतस्य प्रेतत्वं कौपीनदर्शनं खुतप्रशाप्रणवित्तमित्रं हानि, सर्प्त्रिपिशोगोजार्थं तदोपस्तननीगीतगैपुष्येषु चार्द्धेषु प्रसङ्गं इति।

Kaut. VIII. 3.65.

⁹ चा व्राह्मणी सुराणी भवति नैनम् देवा: परिलोके नवनितं।

Patañjali. III. 2.8., p. 99.3.

OTHER BEVERAGES

Other beverages were curds, buttermilk, sour gruel, fruit juices and a syrup prepared from molasses.¹ Aśoka also realised the importance of providing drinking water to his people, so he had wells dug at short intervals.²

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The culinary art was so well developed that Kauṭilya could specify the quantities of grain which remained after pounding, cleaning, rubbing between stones, grinding and roasting.³ He also states the increase in different grains after cooking and the quantity of oil which one could get from different oil seeds.⁴ He mentions the quantity of spices and fats required for cooking meat, and states that half that quantity is required for cooking pot herbs and double that quantity for cooking dry vegetables.⁵ Grains, moistened and soaked to sprouting condition, are also mentioned. There were cooks expert in cooking vegetables and pulses, in boiling rice, in preparing cakes and shopkeepers who especially sold cooked meat.⁶

Kauṭilya lays down that the kitchen should be in a safe place and the superintendent of the kitchen should taste every

¹ *Dadbi* (curds)—Kaut. II. 15.20.

Dbdnyādyla (sour gruel)—Kaut. II. 15.20.

Gudodaka (syrup prepared from molasses)—Patañjali. I. 4.3. p. 310.14.

² Pillar Edict VII, Rock Edict. II.

³ कौद्रावस्तुपिष्ठभृष्टानामाद्यसूक्ष्मिद्वानां च धान्यानां वृद्धिक्षयप्रमाणानि कुर्वीत ।

Kaut. II. 15.26.

⁴ कोद्रवत्रीहीणामध्यसारः । शालीनामध्यभागोः । विभागोः वरकाणाम् । प्रियज्ञानामध्यं शारः । नवभाग वृद्धिश्च । उदारवस्तुत्यः यवागोष्ठूमाश्च धूणाः । तिलायवा मुद्रगमाधाश्च पृष्ठाः । पञ्चभागवृद्धिर्गोष्ठूमः सनतवश्च । पादोला कसायचमदी । मुद्रगमाधामध्यं पादोलः । रौम्बानामध्यसारः । विभागोः मस्तुराणाम् । पिष्ठमाम तुल्यायारवाध्यं गुणाः । दिगुलोदायवकः । पुलाकः पिष्ठं च सिद्धम् । कोद्रवत्रकरोदारकप्रियज्ञानाम् त्रिगुणमद्वाम् चतुर्वृण दीर्घीणाम् । पञ्चवृणं शालीनाम् । तिमितमवराम्बं द्विगुणमध्याधिकं विवृद्धानाम् । पञ्चभागवृद्धिः भृष्टानाम् । कलायो दिगुणः । लाजा भरजाश्च ।

Kaut. II. 15. 27-48.

⁵ शाकानामध्यधृणः । शुक्राणां द्विगुणः स चैव योगः ।

Kaut. II. 15. 68-69.

⁶ कणिका दासकर्मकारसूत्रकाराणामतोन्यदीनिकापूर्णिकेष्यः प्रदद्वेष्टु ।

Kaut. II. 15.81.

See p. 90, f. n. 1 for पाकवनांतिक

preparation before it is served.¹ He also mentions the symptoms of poisoned food articles.² The common kitchen implements in use were a weighing balance, weights, grinding stones, mortar and pestle, a winnowing basket, a sieve, a broom, a basket and a small box for spices etc. The contrivances for pounding rice and splitting pulses had also come into use.³

Strabo mentions that copper vessels were most common and the brazen ones were avoided on account of their supposed brittleness.⁴ The common utensils were water jars, water pots, jars for storing grains, cooking pots, bowls, dishes and cups.⁵ Bronze vessels were also in use.⁶ Bowls, plates and water-vessels are depicted in Bhāṭhut sculptures.⁷

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

The duty of extending hospitality to guests and making offerings of food to gods and forefathers was considered so important that even a book on polity like Arthaśāstra lays it

¹ गुच्छे देवो माहानसिकः सर्वमास्वादवाहूल्येन कर्म कारयेत् । च तदाच्चा तर्थेव प्रतिभूतिर्विषयमनये वयोभ्यवच वल्ल रुत्वा । ६।

Kaut. I. 25. 8-9.

² Kaut. I. 21. 10-19.

³ तु जापानभार्व रोचमी दृपन्नुसलोनूसलकुट्टकरोचकयन्त्रप्रसक्षुप्तिरानिकाकण्डोली पिटकसंभार्वैश्वलोपकरणानि ।

Kaut. II. 15.82.

⁴ McCindle.

⁵ Patañjali mentions the following utensils :

Ghānikā (a small water jar) I. 1.1. p. 7.13.

Kupñikā (a water pot) I. 4.44. p. 102.12.

Kumbha (a water jar) I. 1.6. p. 153.1.

Kumbhī (a jar for storing grains) I. 3.7. p. 264.2.

Kunda (a bowl) I. 1.1. p. 38L 5.

*Stubī** (a cooking pot) IV. 1.1. p. 194L. 17.

Ukha (A boiler) IV. 1.6. p. 202L. 13.

Piśāvara (a pot pan) I. 4.101. p. 350L. 21.

Sardas (a small dish) I. 1.72. p. 189.24.

Tailaghrī (a jar for storing oil) II. 1.1. p. 364L. 16.

Corn IV. 2.7. p. 273.12.

* *STUBĪ* has all along been used in the sense of a cooking pot, hence *Stubīpaka*, offerings cooked in a cooking pot. It does not mean a dish as explained by Dr. B.N. Puri (India in the Time of Patañjali, p. 100). Also see Appendix V.

* वहूशीरवृत्तमेवन्वृत्तस्यपात्रां भ्रम्नीरविति ।

Patañjali VIII. 2.3. p. 388.12.

⁷ Cunningham Bhāṭhut Plate XXVIII Figs. 2. and 3, Plate XL Fig. 3.

down among the duties of a householder and a hermit.¹ Food was also set apart for servants and birds etc. before the householder took his meals.²

From the *Mahābhāṣya* it appears that the *Sakas* and *Yavanas* were allowed to take their meals in the utensils of the three high castes without making them permanently unclean.³ A student and a hermit were expected to live on alms, while a forester lived on the roots, fruits and tubers gathered from the forest.⁴ Strabo says that the students avoided meat diet while the householders did not eat the flesh of animals employed in labour. They also abstained from hot and highly seasoned food.⁵ The *Bṛihmaṇas*, well-versed in the *Vedas*, and the hermits were allowed to take fruits which had fallen themselves and the gleanings of corn.⁶

From the account of *Megasthenes* we learn that when an Indian was at supper a table was placed before him. On this table a golden bowl was placed in which boiled rice and other dainties were served.⁷ This account, no doubt, refers to the rich at whose residences vessels of gold were used daily. The *Mahābhāṣya* states that all those who took their meals in a standing

¹ युहूस्यस्य स्वकर्मनीवस्तुल्यं रस नान्तिभिर्वेवा हृमृतगमित्व देवपित्रिभिर्मृदेषु लाभ-
शेषभोजनं च ।

Kaut. I. 3.9.

वानप्रस्यस्य ब्रह्मचर्यं भूमौ काम्या गदाजिनाराजगिन्होवाभिपेक्षी देवतापित्रिभिर-
पूजा वन्यवचाहार ।

Kaut. I. 3.11.

² तद्राजा तर्वैव श्रितभृत्यीत्पूर्वप्राप्तये वयोभवद्व वलि कृत्वा ।

Kaut. I. 21.9.

³ *Patañjali* on *Pāṇini* II. 4.10.

शूद्राणाम् धनिरबसितानाम् ।

Also see I.H.Q. Vol. XV. No. 4, Dec. 1939.

Date of *Patañjali*'s *Mahābhāṣya*—D.C. Sircar.

⁴ ब्रह्मचारिणः स्वाभ्यायोऽनिकर्त्यभिवेक्षी भैक्षवत्तद्वमाचार्वं प्राणादिकी वृत्तिसुदामादे
गुह्युमे ग ब्रह्मचारिण च ।

Kaut. I. 3.10.

परिवाकस्य संप्रतेनिष्ठत्वमनारम्भो निष्ठिक्षित्वं सङ्कल्पागो भैक्षमनेकवारण्य
वासो वास्तुमास्पन्तरं च शीघ्रम् ।

Kaut. I. 3.12.

For a hermit see p. 99, f. n. 1 above.

⁵ McCrindle, 'Ancient India,' pp. 98 ff.

⁶ प्रशीर्वं च पुष्पकलं देवकायर्थं श्रीहि यवमासदगार्वं श्रोविषास्तपस्विश्वाहृदेषु ।
राशिमूलमूलच्छवृत्तयः ।

Kaut. II. 23.41-42.

⁷ McCrindle, p. 74. Frag. XXVIII.

posture were regarded as *Abrahmaya* (not fulfilling the duties of a Brāhmaṇa).¹ Dinnet etiquette required that the servers should not partake of the meals while the guests were eating.²

The meal of a gentleman, according to Kautilya, consisted of one *pratīha* of pure unbroken rice, one fourth of a *prastha* of pulses, one sixty-fourth part of a *prastha* of salt and one sixteenth part of a *prastha* of clarified butter or oil. For menial-servants the quantity of pulses prescribed is one sixth of a *prastha* and the quantity of oil or clarified butter half of that prescribed for a gentleman. He lays down that women should be provided with three fourths of the above quantities and children only half of what is prescribed for a gentleman.³ Bran was given to blacksmiths and labourers and broken pieces of rice to slaves, servants and cooks who cooked soups, rice and cakes.⁴ The rice used by the king was so highly polished that only five parts of polished rice were considered edible by a king out of twenty parts of unhusked rice.⁵

Greek writers attribute the good health of Indians to simplicity of their food and abstinence from wine.⁶ They state that the physicians lived frugally on rice and meal which were freely supplied by the masses.⁷

The *Mahābhāṣya* gives two words for invitation, *Nimant-*

¹ *Patañjali* on II. 2.6.

² व्राह्मणा भीज्यन्ताम्, माठरकी इकिन्यौ परिवेविष्टाम् इति न इदान्ती भूजन्ते।

Patañjali I. 1.2. p. 28.L. 14.

³ प्रखण्डपरिषुद्धानां वा तद्वानां प्रस्तवः । चतुर्माणः शूपः त्रृप्तोऽवाची लवणस्थानः चतुर्माणः सर्पियस्तीतस्य वा एकमार्गवक्तव्यम् । प्रस्तवाद्भागः शूपः अर्वस्त्वेष्टमवराणाम् । पादोनं स्त्रीजाम् । अर्व वालानाम् ।

Kaut. II. XV. 67-68.

20 rice grains = 1 *dharanīya*

10 *dharanīya* = 1 *pana* = 25 *rathis*

112½ *panas* = 1 *parastha* = about 29 tolas.

⁴ Here the ideal laid down in the *Smṛitis*, that the same food should be served to the servants which the householder takes himself, is not adhered to. This statement of Kautilya possibly reflects the actual state of affairs.

यज्ञारात्सुपांतोऽहुकर्मन्तभित्तिलेप्यानां हास्येत् । कणिका दासकर्मकरमूपकारणामतोऽन्यदीदनिकापूर्णिकमः प्रयच्छेत् ।

Kaut. II. 13. 80-81.

⁵ पञ्चवक्त्रोणे शालीनाम् पञ्चवक्त्रं राजाम् ।

Kaut. II. 13.60.

⁶ Neachus Frag. XV., Strabo XV E. 706.

⁷ Strabo Sec. LX.

traya and *Amavatrapa*. The former was an invitation to take food at sacrifices or a *śrāddha*, the acceptance of which was obligatory. If rejected, without a proper cause, it involved a sin while the latter was a friendly invitation and could be rejected freely.¹ Invitations were generally extended to members of one's own caste.² There were some Brāhmaṇas who did not accept invitation to obsequial dinners.³ In certain feasts, only one food preparation was served; for example only *Vasakas* were served on a particular full moonday.⁴ In Patañjali's time boiled rice was considered a decent dish to feast Brāhmaṇas and friends.⁵ There were some persons who ate only rice⁶ while in the Sālva country (Alwar-Bikaner region) people were fond of *Yavdgūl*.⁷

To conclude, we may note some new features in the food habits during this period. Only two crops are mentioned in the Sūtras but Kautilya mentions a third one, mainly consisting of pulses. Some new cereals such as *dāraka* and *varaka* were used and wheat became more popular. To the pulses pea and *rājamāṣa* seem to have been the new additions. Some new vegetables such as *sūraṇa* and *Kovidāra* flowers and fruits such as pomegranates, and grapes were used. For seasoning some new spices coriander, cardamom and cloves were used but oil was still considered exotic as its sale by Brāhmaṇas is interdicted. Onions were mostly used by non-vegetarians. People in the hills as stated above, were mostly non-vegetarians. Perhaps there was now a much greater variety of intoxicating drinks and some people took food in a standing posture probably as a result of contact with the foreign elements which had entered India during the period.

¹ एवं लत् हि यज्ञयोगतः कर्तव्यं तप्तिभवन्तव्यम् ।

Patañjali III. 1.162. p. 165 L.13-15.

² यज्ञयोग्यम् द्वये ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयन्तः ।

Patañjali VIII. 1.14. p. 370L. 19.

³ सर्वाहभोजी श्रावणः ।

Patañjali III. 2. 80. p. 169. L.19.

⁴ वटकिनी दीर्घमासी ।

Patañjali V. 2. 82. p. 388. L.20.

⁵ Patañjali on I. 1.72. and I. 1.82.

⁶ सोदर्न भोजकः ।

Patañjali on II. 3.70.

⁷ Patañjali on VII. 3.69.

SECTION 2 (THE EPICS AND THE MANUŚMṚTI)

There is wide divergence of opinion among scholars about the date of epics. Dr. Winternitz, for instance, says, 'The Mahābhārata cannot have received the present form earlier than fourth century B.C. and later than fourth century A.D.'¹ But no student of the social aspects of ancient history can afford to neglect the vast material provided by the two epics. Hence, it is proposed to study the conditions relating to food habits in this period in a separate section. A word may also be said for the inclusion of Manusmṛti material in this section. Dr. V.S. Sukthankar, as a result of his researches, had come to the conclusion that most probably the credit of shaping the Mahābhārata into the present form belongs to the Bhārgavas and according to a tradition the Manusmṛti is the ancient code of Manu as communicated to mankind by Bhṛgu. It is also recognized that there is an intimate connection between the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛti. The opinions of Manu have been frequently cited in the Mahābhārata. All this evidence points to the conclusion that the Mahābhārata in its present form, with all the didactic material in the Sānti and the Anuśāsana Parvas, and the Manusmṛti may be regarded as contemporary works.²

CEREALS AND PULSES

In the epics, the food has been classified into four varieties, hard food, soft food, preparations which are sucked and food stuffs which could be licked such as honey.³ Rice appears to be the staple foodgrain in Ayodhyā as well as in the land of the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas.⁴ Of the rice preparations, parched rice,

¹ Winternitz—H.I.L., p. 465.

² Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata. Epic Studies VI. (Sukthankar Memorial Edition) 1944, pp. 334-335. Dr. Sukthankar puts the order of the composition as original Bhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata.

Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata, pp. 336-337.

³ भृष्टं भौज्यं च चोद्यं च लेहं च विविधं ददु।

Rāma. Ay. 91-20.

भृष्टं भौज्यं च चोद्यं च लेहं च विविधं ददु।

Mbh. Adi. 222.19.

लेहं चोद्यं च पेत्रं च हृष्टं स्वादु मनोहरम्।

Mbh. Sabha. 8.6.

⁴ चालितद्वृलसमूणमिद्युक्तापहरसोदकाम्।

Rāma. Bal. 5.17.

boiled rice, milk rice, *Kṛṣṇa* and *Saṅkuli* were the most common.¹ Of the barley preparations groats, *Yavāgī*, *Dhāṇīb*, *Yāvaka* and *Apāpīs* continued to be popular.² *Vāṭya* was a gruel prepared

शत्रूहृष्टाद्य दृष्ट्यन्ते वृहत्प: पर्वतोम्माः।

Rama, Bal. 14.15.

उप्याद्यस्योदानस्यात्र राशयः पर्वतोम्माः।

Rama, Bal. 53.3.

पुष्टव्यवलयतीः पूर्णाः शुक्लस्याश्रस्य लाभितः।

Rama, Ay. 91.68.

ओदर्वं कुम्भसः कुत्वा पुरोधा: समुद्धारत्, शूसनोभिः विक्षिप्तिरप्यौदैः कुत्सरेण च।
Mbh. Asv. 65.12.

¹ *Lōjā* (parched rice)

इक्षुरुच नव्युलाजांच भोजयन्तिस्मवाहनान्।

Rama, Ay. 91.56.

सुमनोभित्वा विक्षिप्तिर्जिहवाद्यरूपिः।

Mbh. Asv. 65.5.

Odana (boiled rice)—Rama, Bal. 53.3, Mbh. Asv. 65.12.

Pāyasa (milk rice)—

पायसं कुत्सरं छारं वृक्षा सोशनातु निर्घृणः।

Rama, Ay. 75.30.

पायसं कुत्सरं मांसमपूषाद्यच वृक्षा कुलाः।

Mbh. Santi. 36.33.

Kṛṣṇa—Rama, Ay. 75.30, Mbh. Santi. 36.33, Santi. 36.33, Asv. 65.12.
यावकं कुत्सरं छारं शाष्ट्रिणी पायसं तथा।

Mbh. Asv. 161.43.

Saṅkuli—Mbh. Asv. 161.43.

² *Yava* (barley)

ते यवानां जनेष्पदाणीश्वानान्तास्त्वयेव च,

तान् देवान् लंभित्व्यन्ति युगा ते पर्युपस्थिते।

Mbh. Van. 190.44.

C.f. Mbh. Asv. 88.3.

Yavāgī—

सुशृतं पायसे शूयाद्यवाच्चां कुत्सरे तथा।

Mbh. Santi. 193.14.

संत्वात् पायसं नित्यं यवारू कुत्सरं हृतिः।

Asv. 162.51.

Yāvaka—Mbh. Santi. 36.33, Asv. 161.43.

Apāpīs—

स्वालामूषकारिचत्वान् शोदशानयस्त्राणवान्।

Mbh. Asv. 53.18.

Mbh. Santi. 36.33; Asv. 65.12.

Saṅkuli—

कणकुरुमादपिष्ट्यकिष्ट्यकिष्ट्यक्षक्षक्षवः।

Mbh. Santi. 36.33.

C.f. Mbh. Santi. 215.22; Asv. 161.91.

Karambha—Mbh. Santi. 36.33.

with parched barley.¹ Wheat preparations were not so common.²

Some inferior grains such as *Kodrava* were probably eaten by the poor.³ Of the pulses besides *Mōja* and *Mudga*, *Kulattha* (horsegram) and gram (*Canaka*) had come into use.⁴ The Rāmāyaṇa also mentions a foodgrain called *Bhadraka*; probably it is an inferior grain known as *Bhadain* near Banaras.⁵ *Kulmāja*, besides wild rice and broken pieces of rice, was the food of the poor and the ascetics.⁶

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Besides foodgrains milk formed an important item of food.⁷ The Brāhmaṇas were not allowed to drink milk of sheep, mare, asses, camels, deer, women, and a cow which had recently calved.⁸ Milk-rice continued to be a favourite preparation. Honey was

¹ *Dhāmāp*—Mbh. Karṇa. 44.11.

पाना गौद्यासवं पीत्वा नीमांलं लश्वन्तः शहं।

अपूर्वनारात्काद्यानामाशिनः शीलवज्जितः।

Mbh. Karṇa. 44.11.

² *Gordhāwa* (wheat)—Mbh. Van. 190.44.

मश्चाद्यानि धान्यानि कोद्रवाः पुलकास्तथा।

Mbh. Anu. 91.38.

³ चन्द्रकानां कुलत्थानां माधाणां लवणस्य च।

अत्रोऽनुरूपं हन्ते हृ च गन्धं संक्षिप्तमेव च।

Rāma. Ut. 91.20.

Sājpa (cooked pulses) मृष्टान्नानि च सूपाश्च दधिकुल्यास्तथैव च।

Rāma. Bal. 53.3.

Cf. Manu. III. 226.

⁴ शासि वाहृहृष्टं च द्वे शते भद्रकास्तथा।

Rāma. Ay. 32.20.

⁵ कण्ठकुलमाधपिण्डीकवाक्याक्यावक्याक्यत्वः।

तथा मूलफलं भैक्षं प्रयिणीप्रयोजयेत्।

Mbh. Santi. 215.22.

Cf. Mbh. Santi. 36.33.

⁶ Rāma. Ay. 91.73; Mbh. Anu. 136.9.

⁷ एडकाश्च त्वरोद्युषीणा सूतिकानां गवाशयि।

मातृदीणां मृगीणां च च पित्रेद् शाहृणः पयः।

Mbh. Santi. 36.25.

Manu prohibits the use of milk of a cow whose milk was not allowed by the Sūtras:—

शेषं गव्यं च पैयूपं प्रयत्नेन विकर्जयेत्। ६

ज्ञानीदंशायाः गोः शीरमोऽमृमैकवर्षं तथा।

माविकं सन्निवीशीरं विवत्सायाद्वच गोः पवः। ८

आरप्णानां च सर्वेषां मुगाणां मातिवं विना

स्त्रीशीरं चेव वर्ज्यानि सर्वेषुक्तानि चेव हि।

Manu. V. 6.9.

used to sweeten it and clarified butter to make it more tasteful.¹ Curds² and *Rasālā*, the fine sweet preparation from them, were very popular.³ Buttermilk and clarified butter were also in common use.⁴ Manu lays down that curds and its preparations could be eaten even if they had turned sour.⁵

MEAT DIET

The Kṣatriyas generally took the meat of animals which they killed in hunting.⁶ Rāma and Bharata are said to have

¹ दिष्ट्वा पायससम्पूर्णो पावौ पत्नीमिव प्रियाम् ।

Rama, Bal. 16.15.

मोदकैः पायसेनाम् मांसैश्चोपहरेद् वलिम् ।

Mbh. Asv. 65.4.

साज्येन पायसेनैव भूना मिथितेन च ।

Mbh. Sabha. 4.2.

Cf. Rama, Ay. 75.30, 91.72, 91.69, Mbh. Anu. 136.49, Santi. 36.33.

² मृद्दात्मानि च सूपाश्च दधिकूल्यास्तदैव च ।

Rama, Bal. 53.3.

घृतं दधि च साजांदत्त दधिनाश्चापि मुक्तलाः ।

Rama, Ay. 5.76.

पावके दधि-मुख्ये च साजिनी लतशोनिवहाम् ।

Mbh. Anu. 136.9.

Rama, Ay. 91.73, Mbh. Anu. 161.99, Asv. 35.39.

³ वीवनस्थस्य गौरस्य कपित्वस्य तुगन्धिनः ।

Rama, Ay. 91.73.

हृदः पूर्ण रसालस्य दद्वः इत्वास्य जापरे ।

Mbh. Anu. 89.40.

रसाला कर्दमा तत्त्वोब्भूत्त्वं भैरवतैर्भ ।

Rama, Ay. 91.73.

आपवत्तुके गव्योदयं चतुर्जितिगुडाईकं

Mbh. Asv. 89.40.

सजीरकं रसालं स्पान्नजिज्जका शिखरिणीः ।

Vaijayanti.

सत्योवम्—शुद्धी पिपली मरिच युक्तम् ।

चतुर्जितम्—एजा लवङ्ग कनकोल नाग सुपाणि ।

⁴ In the Rama, Ay. 91.73 the word *Kapittha* is used for butter milk. *Sarpī*

दधि कुल्याश्च दवृशुः सरिष्वश्च हृदान् जनाः

Mbh. Asv. 85.39.

Ajya—Mbh. Sabha. 4.2.

Rama, Ay. 3.16, Mbh. Anu. 136.4, Asv. 85.39.

⁵ दधि भक्षये च शुक्तेषु सर्वे च दधिसंभवम् ।

Manu. V. 10.

Cf. Manu. II. 59, III. 226.

⁶ क्षनियाणां तु यो दृष्टो विधिस्तमयि ने शृणु ।

वीर्येणोपर्यजितं मात्सं वक्षामृज्जननं दुष्टाति ।

Mbh. Anu. 136.15.

taken the meat of various kinds of deer in the forest.¹ Meat cooked with rice was probably the favourite dish of Sītā.² Birds and fish were also eaten.³ The food of the Pāṇḍavas in the Kāmyaka forest consisted of many kinds of deer.⁴ The Kṣattriyas were not always in a position to offer it to gods so even un-sanctified meat was allowed to them.⁵ Duryodhana also used to eat rice cooked with flesh.⁶ Damayanti asked her maid-servant to bring meat prepared by her husband.⁷ At the time of marriages many animals were killed and eaten.⁸

As for Brāhmaṇas we know that many animals were killed

न मे तत्र मनस्तावो न मन्युहंशुज्ज्वल
वाणुरामिलच वासीन्द्र फूटेश्व विविन्देन्द्रः ।३७
यान्ति राजर्वयश्चाव गृग्राणं धर्मकोविदाः ।४०

Rāma, Ay. 18. 57.40

¹ तौ तत्र हत्वा चतुरो महामृगान् वराहमृग्यं पृथर्तं महाहरम्
भावाय मेष्यं त्वचित् त्रुमुकितो वासाय काले यथतुवनस्तिम् ।

Rāma, Ay. 52.101.

² सुरा वदसहस्रेण मांसभूतीदनेन च ।
यक्षये रक्षीवत्तां वेवि पुरीं पुनरस्पागता ।

Rāma, Ay. 52.89.

³ धृतपितौपनान् स्थूलांस्तात् द्विजात् भक्षयिष्यतः
रोहितांसंक्रतुपवाश्च नलमीनांश्च द्युष्यत ।

Rāma, Acan. 73.12.

गमनाय यस्ति चक्रे त्वं प्रोवाच रास्तकती
न गमतव्यमितः पुत्रं तत्राहारमहं सदा ।३६।
दास्यायि मल्लयप्रवरानुप्यतामिन्द्रं भागरत ।
दत्युक्तस्त्रपंचामास सु पितृन् देवतोसत्था ।४०।

Mbh. Salya. 51.39-40.

⁴ वानेयं च मृगांश्चैव शुद्धेवोर्णनिपातितान् ।
त्राक्षुजातां विवेशामभृत्यज् त् पुरुषवंभाः ।४१
रुद्रन् गृणमृगांश्चैव मेष्यांश्चान्यान् कने चरान् ।
वाणेन्द्रस्य विविद्यत्राहिणेभ्यो व्यवेदयत् ।५।

Mbh. Van. 50.7.

⁵ Mbh. Anu. 116.15, see p. 105, f. n. 6.

⁶ आक्ष्यादवर्यसि प्रावरानकाशि पितृतोदतम् ।
अजाने वाचहन्त्यश्वाः केनाति हृशिणः कृशः ।

Mbh. Sabha. 49.9.

⁷ पुनर्गच्छ प्रमतस्य ब्राह्मकस्योगसंस्कृतम् ।
महामत्ताच्छ्रुतं मांसमानस्वेह भाविनि ।

Mbh. Van. 75.20.

⁸ उच्चावचान् मृगान् च द्युमेष्यांश्च शतमः पश्चून् ।
सुरामेष्यपानानि प्रभूतान्यन्यहारयन् ।

Mbh. Vrat. 72.28.

at the Aśvamedha sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhīra.¹ In the palace of Rantideva, it is said, two thousand animals were killed every day and the meat was distributed probably to the Brāhmaṇas.² The Pāṇḍavas offered the meat of animals to Brāhmaṇas.³ On the occasion of a Śrāddha Brāhmaṇas were generally fed with meat diet.⁴ All this shows that a considerable section of this community had no objection to taking nonvegetarian diet. People belonging to other castes, as well, used meat, for it is said to be the food of the rich. The shop of a meat vendor was crowded by a number of purchasers.⁵ But persons observing a vow generally avoided meat diet.⁶

Some other people, who were outside the Aryan influence,

¹ तं तं देवं सुमुद्रिष्य पश्चिमः पश्चवद्वन् ये ।

भृष्मनाः शालवप्तिः सत्त्वा जलचराहच ये ।

सर्वास्तानम्बृह्युज्जस्ते तत्राग्निवदकामैचि ।

Mbh. Asv. 34.38.

भृष्मवस्त्राङ्गदवरागाणां क्रियतां सुन्यतां लथा

पशूनां वायर्यतां चैव नान्तं ददृशिरे जन्मः ।

Mbh. Asv. 41.89.

² अहन्यद्यनिवध्येते हु शहूखे गवां तथा ।

रा मांसं ददतोऽप्यनं रन्तिदेवरम् निरयतः ।

Mbh. Van. 208.9.

³ Mbh. Van. 30.7. See p. 106, f. n. 4.

⁴ हौमासौ तु भवेत् तुतिर्मत्स्यं पितृगत्स्य ह ।

शीत्यासानान् विकेनाहुश्चतुर्मासं वाशोन् ह । ५।

आजेन मातान् त्रीयते पञ्चते वितरो तृष्ण ।

बारहृण तु वस्त्राकान् सप्तं वै शकुलेन तु । ६।

मातानदो पाषांतेन रोरवेण नव ग्रभा ।

यज्ञपत्स्य तु चासेन लृदिः स्पादशान्तिकी । ७।

आनन्द्याय भवेद्दत्तं खड्गासौ पितृक्षये । १०।

Mbh. A.132. 88. 5-10.

⁵ आद्यानां मांसं परमं मध्यानां गौरलोतरम् ।

तैलोक्यारं दरिक्राणां शोजनं भरतर्वभम् ।

Mbh. Udyoga. 49-54.

अपश्यत् तत्र गत्वा तं सूनामध्ये व्यवस्थितम् । १०।

मार्गनाहिपमांसानि विक्रीणत्वं तपस्थितम् ।

आकुलत्वाच्च नेत्रामेकात्मे संस्थितो द्विजः ।

Mbh. Van. 207. 10-11.

⁶ न मांसं राघवो भुज्वते न चैव मधुं तैवदेते ।

बन्यं सुविहितं निर्यं भवत्तमस्तातिपञ्चमम् ।

कन्दम्पूलफलं जीवन् द्विद्या मृतिवदामिषम्

Rama. Sundara 36.41.

Rama. Ayo. 20.29.

were very fond of meat preparations. They indulged in unrestricted use of them. We read of so many nonvegetarian dishes in the kitchen of Rāvana while Hidimba relished human flesh.¹

Besides meat roasted on spits, sometimes whole animals were roasted on live charcoals.² Meat soup was very popular.³ Sometimes it was prepared with the addition of curds and salt.⁴ Meat cooked with rice was a favourite dish of some people.⁵ Seasoned meat was also taken. Guha offered it to Bharata; but its daily use is not recommended.⁶

The notion of clean and unclean meat was fully developed in this period.⁷ The three upper classes are allowed only clean

¹ मृगाणां गहिपाणां च वराहाणां च भागवाः ।
तत्र न्यस्तानि भासानि एतम्भूमौ ददर्श सः । ११।
रौपेये च विशालेषु भाजनेव्यंभक्षितान् ।
ददर्श हरिश्चार्वलौ मयूरान् कुकुटास्तथा । १२।
वराहाणांश्चिंतकान् विषसीवचलशुतान् ।
शल्यान् मृगमयूराश्च त्रितुमानन्तवर्वक्षत । १३।

Rama. Sundara. 11. 11-18.

भक्षयित्वा च भासानि मत्तुपाणां प्रकामतः ।
नृत्याव सहितावावां ददत्तालावनेकशः ।

Mbh. Adi. 152.15.

² See p. 106, f. n. 3 Rama. Asru. 75.12, Rama. Ay. 52.88.

³ आजैस्त्वापि वाराहैनिष्ठान जर संचयः ।

Rama. Ay. 91.67.

प्रत्यपिठरैस्त्वापि मार्यमायुरकौलकृदैः ।

Rama. Ay. 91.71.

महिषानेकशल्याश्च शुगांश्च कृतनिष्ठितान् ।

Rama. Sundara. 11.14.

स्यातेष्वं तु निष्ठन्म

Amar. Valsya. 44.

⁴ Rama. Sund. 11.13. (see p. 108, f. n. 1).

⁵ See p. 106, f. n. 2 and 6.

⁶ मार्द च भासं शुक्षं वन्यं चोच्चाप्तं महत् ।

Rama. Ay. 84.17.

वर्जयेष्युक्तमासं च तथा पर्युपितं च यत् ।

Mbh. Anu. 61.98.

⁷ वहन् वेष्यान् मृगान् हत्वा चेरत्यमनावेने ।

Rama. Ay. 55.33.

इवं मेष्यमिदं स्वादु निष्ठप्तमिदविग्निना ।

Rama. Ay. 91.2.

विधिना वेद दक्षेन तद् भृत्येवं न वृप्यति ।

Mbh. Anu. 111.14.

यज्ञार्थं पश्वः सूक्ष्मा इत्यपि थूपते शुतिः ।

meat. The flesh of porcupine, hare and tortoise was considered clean.¹ Brāhmaṇas are advised to avoid the flesh of many unclean animals.² Those who took beef or flesh of dogs were looked down upon in society.³ Even dealing in meat is considered improper.⁴ Some Brāhmaṇas completely avoided meat diet while others took only dedicated meat.⁵ But to save life use of even unclean meat was permitted.⁶ In some verses of the Mahābhārata it is laid down that animals should be killed only for sacrifices.⁷ But later it is said that animals should not be killed even in sacrifices and only food grains should be offered instead.⁸ Now the ideal was that all those who wish to lead a

¹ पूज्य पञ्चनसा भृशा श्वस्त्रैण राघव ।

शल्यकः दध्विष्ठो गोधा शशः कूर्मैश्च पञ्चनसः ।

Rama. Kisk. 17.39.

² अननुवानं मृत्तिका चैव लशा शुद्धिर्विलिकाः ।

इलेमातकस्तथा विष्ट्रेमक्ष्यं लिष्टेव च ।

अस्तक्या व्राह्मणमृत्युः शल्येव विवर्जिताः ।

न्तुष्टात् कल्पयादन्यो मष्टुका जलजात्र च ।

श्वादा दिदिणः सर्वे चतुष्पात् पश्चिमक्ष्य ये ।

येवा चोभयतो दक्षाशतुर्दाश्वच सर्वेषाः । २४

Mbh. Santi. 36. 23-24.

³ Beef—Mbh. Karna. 44.11 See p. 104, f. n. 1.

शवमात्रं निर्यता ह्यादः मुटिका नाम निर्षुणा ।

Rama. Bal. 59.19.

⁴ शाकादा मधुमासेन लोहेन च विदेण च ।

सर्वैव विभूताद् भृत्यान् मस्यार्योन्मुते गतः ।

Rama. Ay. 73.38.

⁵ King Brahmadatta was cursed by a Brāhmaṇa for serving him food mixed with meat dishes.

Rama. Uttara. 59.

मन्त्रोक्तिं वृश्चामात्रं विषिहीनं न भक्षयेत् ।

Mbh. Anu. 113.44.

⁶ शृगालावदम् इत्यान् प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः ।

तस्याप्यधम उद्देशः शरीरस्य शवजागरी ।

Mbh. Santi. 141.57.

तस्यौ च शवमृगीमन्ये तस्माद् भीक्षये शवजागरी ।

Mbh. Santi. 141.57.

मूलं रक्ष्य भक्षयिष्याम्यभक्षयम् ।

Mbh. Santi. 141.79.

⁷ Mbh. Anu. 111.14 see p. 108, f. n. 7.

⁸ वीजयंकेषु यज्ञव्यग्रिति वैदिकी चुतिः ।

शज्ज संजानि वीजानि चालानि नो यद्यैष ।

Mbh. Santi. 337.3.

virtuous life should avoid meat dict.¹

In the *Manusmṛti* we find three views about the use of meat. In some of its portions we find a conditional permission for the use of meat. It could be consumed when the animal was killed for Brāhmaṇas.² Animal food was to be used also in *madhu-parka*, sacrifices, Srāddhas and worshipping gods.³ In the Srāddhas specially the use of meat seems to have been common for we are given various periods upto which the fore-fathers remain satisfied with fish and the flesh of goats, gazelles, kids, spotted deer, black antelope, *ruru* deer, boars, buffaloes, hares, tortoises, *vārdhūrīpasa*, rhinoceros and birds.⁴ But, as in the Aśokan edicts, there is a list of animals and birds whose flesh was

¹ इष्यमध्यकृतामायुर्बृद्धिः शत्रम् बलम् समृतिम्
प्राप्त्वा मैनं रैहसा वज्रिता वै महात्मिभिः।

Mbh. Sroti. 337.6.

² प्रोक्तितं भक्षयेन्मात्रं द्वात्मणातो च काम्यया।
वयविविष्ट निष्युक्तस्तु प्राणान्तरेभ्य चात्मवै।

Manu. V. 27.

³ यज्ञार्थं चात्मार्थवर्द्धयाः प्रकाशता मूर्गपक्षिणः।
भूत्यार्थनां चैव वृत्थवर्द्धमगस्त्वा ह्रावस्त्रू पुरा। २२।
वन्मूर्धृहि पुरोडासा भक्षयणां मूर्गपक्षिणाम्।
पुराणेण्वर्ति गङ्गेषु त्रिवृक्षत्रसवेषु च। २३।
प्राणस्थानमिदं सर्वं प्रबाधितिरकल्पयत्।
स्थावरं चक्रम् चैव लक्ष्यं प्राणस्य भीजनम्। २४।
यज्ञार्थं जनिधर्मासर्वयै दैवो विधिः समृतः।
प्रतोमध्यया त्रिवृत्तिस्तु राजसो विधिगच्छते। २५।
मध्यगां च वक्षे च पितृदेवतकर्मणि
प्रत्रैव पश्चादो हिस्या नात्ययोरपश्चक्षीयमनुः। २६।
एव्यथेषु पश्चात्हिसा वेदतत्त्वार्थविद् द्वितीः।
आदानान च पशुं चैव गमकत्पुत्रमाम् गतिम्। २७।

Manu. V. 22, 23, 28, 31, 41-42

⁴ द्वौ मासी मत्स्यं मांसेन वीमाशानं हारिणेन तु।
मीरधेष्यस्य चतुरः ज्ञानुभेदाच पञ्च वै। २६।
पण्मांसाद्युपमांसेन पाप्यतेन च सप्त वै।
अष्टावेणस्य मांसेन दीर्घेण नवैवतु। २६।
दशमासांस्तु तृष्णवित वराहैषहिष्वामिदैः।
शशकूर्मवोत्तु मांसेन मासानेकादशैव तु। २७।
संबलसरं तु गव्येन पश्यसा पाप्यतेव च।
वार्षीणसस्त्रं भासेन तृष्णिहृदिश्वावापिकी। २७।
वापलशाकमहाशलाः वृद्धं लोहोमिदं मधुः।
प्रानन्त्यवैष्णवं कल्पते मूर्यवानि च सर्वयाः। २७।

Manu. III. 268-272.

to be avoided.¹ Students were generally not allowed meat diet.² Then there are portions of the Manuśmṛti in which meat eating is completely prohibited as it involved killing of animals.³ Meat is called the diet of Rākṣasas.⁴ The third view in the Manuśmṛti strikes a compromise between the two extremes for we are told that meat eating is a natural craving of men but its avoidance brings great merit.⁵ According to Buhler the rules against the use of meat diet are a later interpolation but it would be perhaps more proper to say that these new rules came in imperceptibly with the change in the outlook of the people as a result of the teachings of the Buddha, Mahāvīra and perhaps also Aśoka.

¹ अव्यादाद्युक्तान् सर्वास्तथा ग्रामनिवासिनः ।
अनिदिष्टास्वैकशकारिदित्तिर्व च विवर्जयेत् । ११।
कलविद्युत्वं हस्तं चक्रात्मव ग्रामकुद्धुम् ।
सारसं रज्जुवालं च दात्रयै चक्रसारिके । १२।
प्रत्युत्तान् जालादाराश्च कौवलित नक्षत्रिकरण् ।
निष्पत्ततश्च मत्स्यादान्शौर्यं चल्लुरमेव च । १३।
वक्त चैव वलालांश्च काकोर्व स्वरजरीटकम् ।
भूत्वान् त्रिद्व वराहाश्च मत्स्यानेव च सर्वतः । १४।
यो यस्य मांसमशनाति स लक्ष्मीसाद उच्यते ।
मत्स्यादः सर्वमांतरिदस्तस्मान् मत्स्यान् विवर्जयेत् । १५।
पास्तीनरेहितावधी निचुक्तो हृष्यकव्ययोः
राजीवान् शिल्पुण्डीश्च साशालकांश्च सर्वतः । १६।
श्वायिष्यं शश्वकं गोवै शहृं कूर्मं शशांसत्था ।
भृशयत्न् पञ्चनखेष्वादुरनुष्ट्री ग्रन्थकर्तवतः । १७।

Manu. V. 11-18.

² ग्रह्यचारी तु योऽस्तीयान्मधुमांसं कथक्तव्यन् ।

Manu. XI. 158.

³ नाकृत्वा प्राणिनां हिंसा भास्त्रमुपश्चते कवचित्
न च प्राणिवधः स्वर्वस्तस्मान् मांसं विवर्जयेत् ।

Manu. V. 48.

कर्त्ते वर्षेऽव्यमेधेन यो यजेत् शर्तं समाः ।
भोक्षानि च न खादेद्यस्तदोः पुञ्चकालं समव् ।

Manu. V. 33.

⁴ पश्च रक्षः पिशाचार्च मर्द्य मांसं सुरांसवम्
तद् शाहूणेन नांतर्व्यम् देवीनामशनतो हृषिः ।

Manu. V. 95.

⁵ न मांसं भक्षणे दोषो न महो न च मैथुने ।
प्रवृत्तिरेषा भूतानां निवृत्तिस्तु महापला ।

Manu. V. 36.

HONEY AND SWEETS

Honey continued to be used especially with parched rice.¹ But its daily use is interdicted.² Sugarcane was used in making *gudā* which was used in the preparation of many sweets.³ Another product of sugarcane juice in common use was sugar both clarified and raw.⁴ Common sweets were *apīpa*, *pājāra* (milk-rice), *sāmyāra*, *kṛṣṇa*, *madbulājōb* and *modakas* (sweet balls).⁵ Some good quality sweets are called *Khaṇḍava* and *Uccāvārabhakṣya* in the epics.⁶

¹ इक्षुन् मधुसूतया लाजान् मेरेयोद्वज्ज भरासवान् ।

Rama. Bal. 53.2.

मांत्रश्रितिन्नहै चैव मधुनो लवणस्य च ।

Mbh. Anu. 136.5.

See p. 103, f. n. 1.

² दधिराकृत्र दोपायां पिवेन्मधु च नित्यवाः ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.99.

³ *Apīpa*—Rama. Bal. 53.2, Ay. 91.16. Mbh. Anu. 136.8.

भोजनानि मुपूर्णानि गौडानि च सहवानः ।

Rama. Bal. 53. 4.

विविधानि च गौडानि स्नानवानि तर्थैव च ।

Rama. Uttara. 92.12.

⁴ *Sarkara*

वभूवः पद्यसक्षात्ये शक्तराणां च संचयः ।

Rama. Ay. 91.73.

⁵ *Apīpa*—See p. 103, f. n. 2.

Pājāra—See p. 103, f. n. 1.

Sāmyāra—See p. 103, f. n. 2.

Kṛṣṇa—See p. 103, f. n. 1.

Madbulājōb—*Ibid.*

Modaka—

नरा मोदकहस्ताद्य रामस्य मुखो यमः ।

Rama. Yuddha. 131.38.

रसालापूर्पकाशितवान् मोदकानय खाण्डवान् ।

Mbh. Anu. 53.18.

Rama. Bal. 10. 19-20.

Modakas were generally prepared with rice or wheat flour fried in clarified butter mixed with sugar, some aromatic spices and thin slices of the kernel of coconut.

⁶ *Khaṇḍava*

नाना स्वाहुरसानां च लाण्डवानां तर्थैव च ।

Rama. Bal. 53.4.

विविधानि च गौडानि स्नानवानि तर्थैव च ।

Mbh. Anu. 53.18.

भक्ष्य स्नानवराणाणां क्रियतां भूज्यतां तथा ।

Mbh. Asv. 41.89.

Uccāvārabhakṣya—Rama. Bal. 53.2, Ay. 61.14, Kisk. 33.7, 37.7, Sundara. 62.9.

SPICES AND CONDIMENTS

It appears that besides ordinary salt, *sauvareala*, *vîda* and black salt were in common use, but the use of *vîda* and black salt is interdicted in a *Śraddha*.¹ It is laid down that a Brâhmaṇa should not deal in salt² and people should avoid eating salt in the palms of their hands or at night.³ Other articles used for seasoning food were pepper, cumin, asafoetida, aloes, nutmeg and probably also coriander, mustard and ginger.⁴ They were also used in preparing a stuffing (*vesavâra*).⁵ It appears that two condiments, *Sâpa*, and *Nîshâna*, which were prepared with fruit juices, were very much liked in Ayodhyâ.⁶

OILSEEDS AND OILS

Sesamum continued to be used as an offering to the fore-

¹ *Sauvareala*—Rama. Sundara. 11.13.

कृष्णाजाती विष्वर्वेव वर्जयेत्तदेवं सर्वम् ।

Mbh. Anu. 91.41.

Cf. Mbh. Anu. 91.39.

² सुरासवणमिद्येव तिलान् कैसरिणः पश्चान्

एतेषां विशेषादात आहूषी न रक्तं दद्यते ।

Mbh. Santi. 78.4-5.

³ न पाणी लवणं विद्वान् प्राक्षनीयात्र च रात्रिषु ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.99.

⁴ Pepper (*marica*)

पुष्पाणि च तमालस्य गुरुमानि मरिचस्य च ।

Cumin (*ajîr*)—Mbh. Anu. 91.39-41.

Asafoetida (*Hing*)

हिंग् इव्येषु साकेषु दसाण्डु लघुनं तथा ।

Rama. Aranya. 35.22-23.

Aloes (*agmîr*)—शुगुणाणी च भूस्यानो च नान्युपवनानि च ।

तक्कोलानां च जात्यानि कलानां च सुगन्धिनान् ।

Rama. Aranya. 25.22.

Pinndîga (nlgakesara in Hindi) Rama. Uttara 42.33.

Nutmeg (*Jivî*) Rama. Aranya. 25.22.

⁵ वेतवारविकारांश्च पानकानि लघूनि च ।

Mbh. Anu. 93.17.

⁶ कलनिर्वृहस्तसिद्धं सूर्यन्तरसान्वितः ।

Rama. Ay. 91.67.

भूस्त्वा विशालासी सूर्यदक्षान्वितम् शुभम् ।

वन्यं नैवारोहारं कथं सौतीपभोक्यते ।

Rama. Ay. 61.5.

fathers¹ and for extracting oil, which was used for frying food articles by poor people.² Oilcake was used as an article of food by the ascetics.³

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

From the epics we know that the hermits generally lived on fruits, roots and tubers.⁴ The fruits in common use in the forests were jujube, *kālmarya*, *tinguda* (*Terminalia catappa*), *khallatka* (marking nut), *plaksa*, *avrattha* and *pili*.⁵ In the cities such as Ayodhya, *bilya*, *kapittha*, bread fruit, citrus fruit, emblematic my-

¹ Mbh. Vana, 190.44.

पितॄणां परमं भौज्यं तिला: सृष्टा: स्वयंभूवा।

तिलशरेन वै तस्मात् पितॄश्च अभोदये।

Mbh. Anu. 66.7.

C.f. Mbh. Anu. 88.3, 68.18, 136.8, Santi. 343.16.

² Mbh. Udyoga. 49.34.

कणकुलमाषपिण्डाकथाकथावक्तस्तत्वः।

तेषां मूलकलं भैङ्गं पर्वयिणोपयोजयेत्।

Mbh. Santi. 215.22.

⁴ कर्दममूलकलं जीवन् द्वित्वा मूलिवदाभिप्रम्।

फलमूलादानं गिर्यं वानरं अनगोपरम्।

Rama. Ay. 20.29.

फलमूलं च बुभूजे राशा वर्तं राहानुजः।

Rama. Kisk. 17.25.

⁵ कलानि च विचिकाणि राजभोग्यानि भूरिशः।

बदरेऽनुवकाशमर्यभलातिकाकलानि च।

Mbh. Astama. 26.38.

बदरेऽनुदकाशमर्यभलातिकाकलानि च।

Mbh. Anu. 33.19.

वाकुलेण यक्षाशेषं करीते वीलुभिस्तथा।

Mbh. Salya. 37.61-62.

C.f. Mbh. Vana. 178.6.

Kālmarya

काषमर्यरिष्टवाहणीमधूकीस्तिलकं साधा।

Rama. Ay. 94. 8-9.

वदवमिलकं निपिवेष्वधन्वन्वीजकं।

Mbh. Anu. 53.19, Salya. 37. 61-62.

Tinguda—Mbh. Salya 37. 61-62.

Vhallatka—Ibid.

Plaksa—Mbh. Salya. 37. 61-62.

Avrattha—Ibid.

Pile—Ibid.

Syagupaka—

यद्युरादात्सदा वज्यो इह मुग्दादकानि च।

Mbh. Anu. 91.4.

rohalan, plantain, rose apple, pomegranates and mangoes were used.¹ As stated before some of these fruits were used in preparing condiments.² Stalks and roots of lotus³ were used as vegetables with other vegetables such as long bottle gourd and *kovidāra*.⁴ From the Mahābhārata it appears that garlic, onions and mushrooms were not eaten by respectable persons.⁵ It lays down that a man desirous of glory should not eat the fruits of a fig tree, *pippala*, *rāja* and *udumbara* trees and the leaves

¹ *Bilva*—Rama, Ay. 91.50, 94.8, Mbh. Vana, 117.23, Salya, 37.63, Vana, 137.23.

Kapittha—Rama, Ay. 91.30.

Panās (bread fruit)—Rama, Ay. 91.30.

Bijaputraka (citrus fruit)—Rama, Aranya 15.

Amalaka (emblic myroblan) Rama, Ay. 91.50.

Nārikela—Rama, Aranya, 35.

Kadali—Plaintain.

कद्दलीबन्न भूषिष्ठं कार्यं पनोहरम् ।

वाटवन्नुकलयणदै दन्तोलू वालिकरपि ।

Mbh. Salya, 37.64.

Rama, Kisk, 13, Mbh. Salya, 36.64, Rama, Aranya 1.2,
Jambī—(rose apple)

आम्बजन्मु वसनैर्लोक्यैः त्रियालैः पनसैः धैः ।

मङ्गोदैर्भूष्यतिनिश्च विल्वतिन्दुकवण्डुभिः ।

Rama, Ay. 94.8.

नम्भुभिर्दैर्भूष्यतिनिश्च कोविदारैश्च लोभिताम् ।

Rama, Ut. 42.5.

C.f. Mbh. Anu. 91.41.

Dādima (pomegranate)—Rama, Ut. 42.5.

Priyalo—Mbh. Van. 40. 2-3, Ram. Ay. 98.8.

Mango (*Citrus*)

दधानाम्भवणोपेताम् ।

Rama, Bal. V. 17.

तस्मिन् विल्वा: कपिरधाश्च पनसा दीजपूरकाः आम्बलक्यो चम्भुद्वच चूताश्च कल भूषणाः

Rama, Ay. 91.30.

Amrataka काश्पककरैर्द्वचं विल्वैराचातकैस्तथा ।

प्रतिमुलोकपद्मैश्च पारिजातैश्च लोभिताम् । ६१ ।

Mbh. Salya, 37.63.

Bhājya—Rama, Ay. 94. 8.

² See p. 113, f. n. 6.

³ देवस्य दीप्ते जलमण्डिकल्पा विशाहु ते भुत्तविशेषतुनाः । ११ ।

केचिद् विशाल्यजनंस्तुत्र राजदर्श्ये भूत्तान्तियज्ञनस्तुतविभागः । १२ ।

Mbh. Anu. 94. 7-8.

⁴ See p. 116, f. n. 2.

⁵ *Palāgha* (onions)—Mbh. Anu. 91.38.

Lalana (garlic)—Mbh. Anu. 91.38, Karna, 44.17.

Grājama (red garlic)—Mbh. Anu. 91.39.

of hemp.¹ The use of long bottle gourd, *Kālalāka*, *Śleṣmātaka*, *sudarśana*, leaves of bamboo or *karira* is interdicted in a *Śrāddha*.²

INTOXICATING DRINKS

From the Rāmāyaṇa we learn that drinking was common in Ayodhyā. After the departute of Rāma, the city has been compated to a tavern deserted by drunkards.³ The same inference can be deduced from the remark of Bharata on the absence of aroma of *Vāruṇī* after the death of Daśaratha.⁴ Sītā herself enjoyed *Maireyaka* variety of wine⁵ and promised to worship the river goddess with a thousand pitchers of wine.⁶ The non-Aryan tribes of the Rākṣasas⁷ and the Vāṇaras were, no doubt, addicted to drinking. The conditions described in the Mahābhārata are worse.⁸ Krṣṇa is said to have enjoyed drinking freely with Arjuna.⁹ We are told that the Yādavas were killed in a

¹ पिण्डं च वर्द्धं चैव शृणशाकं तथैव च ।
वदुम्बरं न जादेव भक्तार्थी पुण्ड्रोनुप ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.97.

² *Kālalākā* (pumpkin gourd) Mbh. Anu. 91.39.
Kālalāka—Mbh. Anu. 88.10.

Śleṣmātaka—Rama. Bal. 14, Mbh. Vṛo. 134. 28.

सौभाग्यनः कोविदारस्तथा गृञ्जनकादयः ।

कूम्भाण्ड जात्यलाबुच्च तुष्णं तवण्येद च ।

Mbh. 91.39.

निकापे हृत्य कष्ये वा यहिते च सुक्षेत्रम् ।

Mbh. Anu. 91.41.

C.f. Mbh. Anu. 91.41. See p. 114, f. n. 3.

³ क्षीण पानोहामैश्चिद्देः शरावैरभिसंवृताम् ।

हत्यौष्टिविधाकाशे पानभूमिप्रसंस्कृताम् ।

Rama. Ay. 114.14.

⁴ वारुणीभवनन्धस्त्र मालयगत्यस्त्र मूर्च्छितः ।

Rama. Ay. 114.20.

⁵ सीतानादाय हस्तेन स्वयम्भैरेयक्षमिति ।

Rama. Ut. 42.18.

⁶ मुराघटहस्त्रेण भास्त्रभूतीदेन च

वश्ये त्वां श्रीयता देवि पुरो पुनरुपागता ।

यक्षे लांगोसहस्रेण सुराघटकातेन च ।

Rama. Ay. 52. 89.

⁷ Rama. Sundara. 11, 22-23.

Rama. Ay. 50.20.

⁸ Rama. Kiskindha. 30.79, 33.39, 33.7.

⁹ उत्त्रो भव्यासवक्षीणावृत्ती चक्षनश्चिती ।

Mbh. Udyoga. 39.5.

drinking brawl.¹ The Aśvamedha sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhīra has been compared to a sea of liquor.² Virtuous ladies, like Sudeṣṇā drank wine.³ Some of them drank so hard that they could not walk straight.⁴

But even the Kṣattiyas, who were so much addicted to drinking, regarded it as an evil. Daśaratha tells Kaikeyī that if he banished Rāma people would look down upon him as they look down upon a Brāhmaṇa who was addicted to drinking.⁵ Bharata also considers it a sin.⁶ Even dealing in liquor is considered improper for Brāhmaṇas.⁷ Drinking is frequently condemned⁸ and those who were accustomed to drinking liquor prepared from molasses were looked down upon in society.⁹

¹ अथ प्रभृति तर्वेषु वृज्ज्यन्नकुलेभिरु ।
सुरासवो न कर्तव्यः सर्वे न गरुदासिभिः ।

Mbh. Maus. 16.19.

² एवं अमूर्त यज्ञः स भर्तुराजस्य धीमतः ।
वह्नस्तथनरत्नैषः सुरामैरेवसागरः ।

Mbh. Asv. 89.39.

³ उत्तिष्ठ गच्छ सैरनिष्ठ कीचकस्य निवेशनम् ।
पन्थमानय काल्याणिं विपासा मां प्रवापते ।

Mbh. Virat. 15.10.

⁴ हितयश्च विमुजाथोपश्चारुदीनपशोधराः ।
मदलत्तिलितगमिन्वहितीदु वामिकोचनाः ।

Mbh. Adi. 222.21.

⁵ विकरिष्यति रथ्यामु सुरार्पं श्राद्धाच्च यथा ।
मध्ये प्रहृष्टातो भवतु यस्याच्चेन्मते गतः ।

Rama. Ay. 75.41.

⁶ सुरालब्धमित्येव तिलान् केतरिणः पश्चून् ।
एतेषां विक्रयात्तात्र श्राद्धाणो नरकं व्रजेत् ।

Mbh. Santi. 78. 4-5.

⁷ सुरायानं व्रह्माहृष्या गुह्यत्यमवधिपि वा ।
यन्निर्देश्यानि मन्यन्ते श्राणान्तर्मितिवारणा ।

Mbh. Santi. 163.10.

यो श्राद्धाणोऽया प्रभृतीह करिष्यत् भोव्यत्युत्ते पास्पति भन्दवृद्धिः ।
अपेतवर्षी व्रह्माहृष्या चैव स स्यादस्तिमल्लोके गह्यतः स्यात्वरे च ।

Mbh. Adi. 76. 67.

C.f. Mbh. Asv. 51.18, Santi. 163.10, 34.20.

⁸ Mbh. Karna. 44.71. See (7) above.

सुरा वैमलभानान् पाष्ठा च मलमच्यते ।
तद्मात्रं श्राद्धाण्यराजन्यौ वैश्यवै न सुरीं पूर्वेत् ।
शीढीं पैदीं च मात्र्वीं च विजेता विजिता सुरा ।
यवेवेका तथा सर्वा न पातव्या द्विजोत्तमैः ।

Manu. XI. 94-95.

The Rāmāyaṇa mentions two varieties of *Surā* ordinary and the fermented one.¹ *Kīlāla*² was also used in this period, but *Mairya* seems to be the most popular drink. It was the favourite drink of Sītā and was served to guests at a wedding,³ and by sage Bhāradvāja to the party of Bharata. *Vārūpi* was prepared from the juice of plum fruits and dates and was a common drink in Ayodhyā, as Bharata was surprised to find the city without its aroma after the departure of Rāma to the forest.⁴ It was a very strong drink as it brought about unconsciousness as soon as it was drunk.⁵ *Āsava* was another intoxicating drink in which the main ingredients were *Kapittba* (*Feronia elephantum*), five hundred *palas* of *phāsita* and one *prastha* of honey.⁶ Four varieties of *āsavas* are mentioned—one prepared from flowers, the second from fruits, the third from honey and the fourth from sugar.⁷ An *āsava* in which *surā* was used in place of water was

¹ *Surā*—Rāma, Ay. 52. 89, 55.20, 91.21., Mbh. Mans. 16.29, Asv. 89.39, 11.18, Adi. 76.67, Santi. 78.4, 165.34, Virat. 15.7.

Kīlāla surā (fermented *surā*)—Rāma, Sundara 11.12.

दिव्याः प्रसन्ना निविधाः सुराः कृतसुरा ग्रस्ति

षष्ठीरासवमान्वीकाः पुष्पासवफलंसर्वाः।

Rāma, Sundara. 11.22-23.

Cream of *surā* is called *Madrīd*. (Mbh. Santi. 24.10).

² कीलालान् त लादेयं करिष्वे चामुखातम्।

Mbh. Vana. 257.17.

³ मेरेयमस्वमांसानि पानकानि मधुनि च।

निभान् भव्यविकारांश्च चक्षुस्तस्य व्याचा पुरा।

Mbh. Asrama, I. 21.

Cf. Rāma, Ut. 42.18, Ay. 91.70, Mbh. Asv. 89.39, Virat. 72.28.

स्वत् मधूस्तस्य लाजान् मेरेयांश्च वराकान्।

Rāma, Bal. 13.2.

अन्याः लवन्तु मेरेयं सुरामन्त्याः सुनिष्ठिताम्।

Rāma, Ay. 91.15.

मेरेयासबो धानी धातकी मुडवारिभिः।

Vaijayantī.

⁴ Rāma, Ay. 114.20 See p. 116, f.n. 4.

⁵ मो मोहवति दुष्टादेहो वीतमादेव लाश्ची।

Rāma, Yuddha. 34.8.

⁶ See Ch. IV. Sec. 1, p. 96, f. n. 1.

⁷ *Puspāsava*—generally prepared from *Madhuśāka* flowers—Rāma, Sund. 11.23, Mbh. Virat. 16.3, calls it *Madrīd*.

एहित्र मया सार्दं पित्र मधु माधवीम्।

Mbh. Virat. 16.3.

See p. 118, f. n. 1.

Phalāśava—It was generally prepared from dates—Rāma, Sund. 11.23.

called *Surāsava*.¹ The main ingredients of *Prasanna*² variety are twelve *ādbakes* of flour, five *prasthas* of ferment with some spices and bark and fruit of *Patraka*. *Divyā* was prepared from the bark of *Kadamba* trees.³ *Sidhu*, which was the daily drink of the non-Aryans, was distilled from the juice of sugarcane and *dbātuki* flowers.⁴ Another strong drink was prepared with *Madbhika* flowers.⁵

OTHER BEVERAGES

In the *Mahābhārata* water is considered to be the best of beverages.⁶ Drinking water was brought from some natural sources such as water-falls, springs or rivers.⁷ It was also brought from some artificial sources such as wells, reservoirs and tanks.⁸ Water, which had the fragrance of lotus, of rivers and which was clear, cool, health giving, and shining like silver, was considered good for drinking.⁹ It is laid down that

Madbhāsava—It was prepared from honey. *Ram.*, *Sund.* 11.25, *Mbh.* *Udyoga*, 19.3.

Sarkardāsava—It was prepared from red sugar. *Rama.*, *Sund.* 11.23.

¹ *Shrāvāsava*—*Mbh.* *Maus.* 16.29. See p. 117, f. n. 1.

² See p. 118, f. n. 1.
Rama., *Sundara*, 11.22-23. See Ch. IV, Sec. 1, p. 93, f. n. 7.
Kaut. II, 25.18.

³ *Rama.*, *Sundara*, 11.23.

⁴ सौभ्रपश्यच्छात्कुम्भानि सीधोर्मणिमयानि च ।

चाननस्य च शीतस्य तीर्थीर्मधुरस्य च ।

Rama., *Sundara*, 11.26.

Rama., *Sundara*, 11.32.

Gandhyāsava (prepared from *guḍa*) is mentioned in the *Mbh.* *Karna*, 44.11.

⁵ See p. 118, f. n. 7.

⁶ द्रव्याणां चैव सर्वेणां पेयानामाप उत्तमः ।

Mbh. *Asv.* 44.10.

⁷ अलप्रपातैऽदभेदैनिष्ठादैरुच ववचित् ववचित् ।

Rama., *Ay.* 94.13.

⁸ निर्जलेषु च देशोपु खानयामीशुश्वत्मान् ।

उदपानान् वहु विधान् वेदिकापरिमण्डितान् ।

Rama., *Ay.* 80.12.

पानीयं परमं दानं दानानां भनुरङ्गीत् ।

तस्मात् कूपाश्वचापीत्व तद्याकानि च खानयेत् ।

Mbh. *Anu.* 100.3.

⁹ पश्यगन्धिं जिवं यारि मुखं शीतमनामयम् ।

उद्धृत्य स तद्वाचिलेष्ट रूपाशक्तिकस्त्रिनम् ।

अथ युक्तरप्येन लक्ष्मणः पापविष्पति ।

Rama., *Aranyak.* 73.17-18.

one desirous of lustre should not drink water at night.¹ Besides water many other beverages were prepared at the time of feasts. Some of them were prepared from foodgrains or flour.² Some times fruit juices were used as syrups.³ A preparation of juices from fruits such as pomegranates and raisins was called *rāga*, if it was liquid in form, and *sādava*, if the juices were reduced to a thick consistency.⁴

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

From the epics we learn that food was cooked in kitchens, by efficient cooks expert in cooking different dishes and was served by waiters, who were well dressed.⁵ The preparation of *Sasikali*, *rasālī*, *rāga* and *sādava* shows a high stage of develop-

¹ पानीयस्य क्रिपा नवतं न कार्या भूतिभिन्नता ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.128.

² पानानि च महार्हणि भक्ष्याद्यचोक्ष्यावचानपि ।

Rama. Bal. 53.2.

वेशवारिविकाराद्यच पानकानि लघूनि च ।

Mbh. Anu. 53.17.

प्रतिपानहृदान् पूर्णन् सरोष्टग्रवाज्वाजिनान् ।

Rama. Ay. 91.78.

नानाविधान्नरत्नान् वन्दगूलकालाक्षयान् ।

Rama. Ay. 54.18.

कीही पुष्टे फले चैव जले पितृमये तथा ।

Mbh. Anu. 136.9.

³ नानास्वादुरसानां च स्वाप्नवानां तथैव च ।

Rama. Bal. 53.4.

फल निर्भृह संतिद्वः सूर्यं त्वरसान्वितः ।

Rama. Ay. 91.67.

⁴ तथान्त लवणोत्तंसे विविधै रागवाहैः ।

Rama. Sundara. 11.18.

भक्ष्याङ्गदवदागाभां क्रियतां भूज्यतां तथा ।

Mbh. Asv. 41.89.

सिता मध्वादि मधुरो द्रावादाङ्गिमयो रसः ।

Sundara. 11.18.

विरलस्वेतह्नो रागस्तान्द्रवेत् याडवः ।

Mbh. Mans. 2.

Govindaraja quotes 'Pradipa' on Rama.

⁵ महानतेषु सिद्धेषु संस्कृतेज्ञीन भारता । आहूर्वमाणे वृद्धो व्यदृश्यन्त सहस्राणः ।

आराणिकाः सूपकारा रागस्तांदविकास्तथा ।

Mbh. Asv. 19.1.

उपातिष्ठन्त राजानं भूतराष्ट्रं पुरा चरा ।

स्वतंहृतविच पुरुषा जाह्नाणान् पर्वतेष्यन् ।

उपाहृते च तानन्ये सुमुष्टविज्ञुण्डलाः ।

Rama. Bal. 14.18.

C.f. Rama. Ay. 12.95, Ut. 92.6.

ment in the art of cooking.¹ Laksmana used to cook food for Rāma and Sītā in the forest.² Royal princes like Bhīma and Nala had attained great skill in the art of cooking. Nala could prepare fine dishes in no time.³ Meat was also dressed in various ways.⁴

The rich generally used utensils of gold, silver, or precious stones while the middle class used utensils of other metals and the poor used utensils of clay or leaves.⁵ The common utensils were water jars, dishes, pans, pitchers, drinking cups, cooking pots and boilers.⁶ Manu prescribes that utensils of stone should

¹ *Sākṣi*—See p. 103, f. n. 1.

Rasālā—See p. 103, f. n. 3.

Rāga—See p. 120, f. n. 4.

Sākṣi—*Ibid.*

² Rāma. Aranyak. 73. 12-14.

³ Mbh. Vicata. 10. 17.

श्रद्धिपूर्वक वस्त्रस्य पानीयं च रसूदगतम् ।

काषायाद्यादितापानीयि स्वयं प्रवलितानि च ।

शशाज्ज्व भौजनैस्तैस्तेनिष्प्रश्नं दिव्यमेव च ।

एतद् दूष्यता महाश्चर्वं लतश्चनहस्तिहागता ।

Mbh. Vana. 75. 393-396.

⁴ See p. 108, f. n. 2-6.

⁵ त्यवृद्धानि च पात्राणि शातकुम्भमवानि च ।

स्थाल्यः कुम्भः करम्यश्च दधिनूर्णः सुरास्कृतः ।

Rāma. Ay. 91.72.

पात्रः पात्री कटाक्षुनि कलशान् वर्धमानकान् ।

नहि किन्चित् असौर्वमपरपन्वसुधाधिपः ।

Mbh. 85.30.

⁶ *Bhrigūdra* (water jar)—Mbh. Asv. 65.15.

Ghato (water jar)—Mbh. Asv. 85.30.

Kumbha (a pitcher)—Rāma. Ay. 91.72.

Lambī (iron pans)—Rāma. Ay. 91.69.

Pātrī (a dish)—Rāma. Ay. 91.71., Mbh. 85.30.

Kesābhē (a frying pan)—Mbh. Asv. 65.15.

Pipāra (a boiler)—Rāma. Ay. 91.71.

Vardhamānaka—a kind of dish.

See p. 121, f. n. 5. Mbh. Asv. 85.30.

C.f. Mbh. Asv. 65.15.

Karawhē (a vessel for storing liquids)

See p. 121, f. n. 5. Rāma. Ay. 91.72.

Karshka (a water pot).

be cleaned with ashes, of gold and silver only with water, of other metals with alkaline substances. Wooden implements were cleaned with warm water and earthenware with another burning¹.

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

Great importance was attached to the fulfilment of the duty of hospitality in the epics.² A Brāhmaṇa, who maintained himself on the gleanings of corn, starves himself to death to feed a guest.³ In the Rāmāyaṇa even the hermits extend hospitality to Rāma and Bharata wherever they went.⁴ Manu goes to the extent of saying that if a Brāhmaṇa stays unhonoured in one's house he takes away all his merit, however, self sacrificing he may have been.⁵ According to him one who cooks for himself

ततः पात्रैः सकरका बहुलगा मनोरमाः । भूगाराणि कदाद्वानि कलशान् वर्षेभानकान् ।
वहनि च विचित्राणि भाजनानि सहस्राः ।

Mbh. Asv. 63, 14-15.

Staharī (a cooking pot)

स्थाल्याः कपोदधं संलग्नं काकान्तं वीक्ष्य केशाः ।

Mbh. Van. 263.14.

¹ तैजसानां भजीनां च तर्वस्याद्यग्मयस्य च ।

भस्मनाऽप्यद्विमुदा चैव सुदिशकाः यज्ञीयिः । १११ ।

निर्लेपं काकान्तं भाष्मदभिरेव विशुद्धतिः ।

अवृज्यशमष्टं चैव राजतं चानुपस्थितम् । ११२ ।

अपावृण्येच संयोगाद्वै रौप्यं च निर्वर्णैः ।

तस्मात्तयोः स्वयोग्येव निषेको गृणतातः । ११३ ।

ताम्राद्यकांस्त्वयैत्यान् च पृष्ठः चीसकर्त्त्वं च ।

शीर्वं पथाहूँ कर्त्तव्यं क्षारालोदक वारिभिः । ११४ ।

इकाणां चैव तज्ज्वाला शुद्धिष्टवनं स्मृतम्

प्रोक्षणं संहतानां च दोरवाणो च तक्षणम् । ११५ ।

Manu. V. 111-115.

² प्रोक्षोद्योतिभिः लायं शूर्वेष्ठो गृहसेधिना ।

कलि प्राप्तस्तवकलि वा नास्त्वानश्नन् गृहे वसेत् ।

Manu. III. 105.

तोषपूर्वं प्रदायात्रमातिविष्टो विषापते

पश्चाद् भूत्यात् मेवादी नाप्यन्यमना न द ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.102.

³ Mbh. Asv. 90.

⁴ Rama. Bal. 12 and 33, Ay. 91.

⁵ विजावप्युच्छतो निर्वयं पञ्चाणीनिधि चुहृतः । १०० ।

सर्वं सुकृतवादते वाहृणोनिधितो वसन् ।

न वै स्वयं तदवीरावतिविषयम् भोवयेत् । १०६ ।

अन्यं वशस्यमायुष्यं स्वर्वं चातिविष भोजनम् ।

Manu. III. 100, 106.

is a sinnet.¹

Besides feeding guests a householder was expected to make some offerings to gods and Brāhmaṇas before he took his meals. Rāma and Sītā both observed this rule in the forest.² He was enjoined to feed children, oldmen, servants, newly married girls, maidens, sick persons and pregnant women before he took his meals.³ He should also set apart some food for dogs, outcasts, Cāṇḍālas, persons afflicted with infectious diseases, birds and insects.⁴ Ancient Indians always washed their hands, feet and mouth before they took their meals.⁵ It was considered impo-

¹ अथ संकेतं भृद्भृतो यः पच्यात्मकारणात्
यज्ञायिष्टानां स्तूतं सतानां विधीयते।

Manu. III. 118.

² पर्वीश्व द्वैपर्वी सर्वान् द्विष्टार्तिक्ष्व यज्ञस्विनी
भातृष्व भोजमिलवात् यज्ञमाहृत्यतादा।

Mbh. Van. 58.8.

Cf. Rāma. Ay. 59.36-37, Atanya. 56.23.

देवान् चाहीन् भनुव्यक्ष्व पितृन् गृह्यात्म देवताः।

पूजयित्वा ततः पश्चाद् गृहस्यः योपभूम्भवेत्।

Manu. III. 117.

³ सुवारिनीः कुमारीश्व रोपिणीमर्दिणीहित्वः।
श्रितिविभ्योऽप्त एवैतान् भोजयेद्यज्ञान्।

Manu. III. 144.

बालानीमय वडानां दायानां चैव ये तराः।

आदहेद्या भक्षयन्त्यप्रे ते वै निर्यग्निभिः।

Mbh. Anu. 13.82.

Manu. III. 105, 117, 119, 152.

⁴ सुनां च पतितानां च शवपानां पापरोत्पिणाम्।
वायस्सानां कृमीणां च शतकं निर्देवेद भृत्यि।

Manu. III. 92.

⁵ पश्चाद्वाऽभोजनं भुज्यात् प्राइमुलो मीतमास्तिः।
न निन्द्यादत्र भक्षयाश्व स्वादु स्वादु च भक्षयेत्।

Mbh. Sand. 195.6.

आदेपादस्तु भुज्यानो वर्षणी जीवते शतम्।

Mbh. Anu. 161.67.

अन्नं बुभुक्षमाणस्तु त्रिमुखेण सृशेषम्।

भृकृष्णा आनं तवैव त्रिद्विः पुनः परिमार्जयेत्।

Mbh. Anu. 161.59.

आदेपादस्तु दीर्घमाय रक्ता ल्प्यात्।

Manu. IV. 76.

उपस्मृश्व द्विजोनित्यमत्तमद्यात्समाहितः।

भृकृत्वा योपस्मृश्वत्सम्पगदिभिः जाति च संस्मृशेत्।

Manu. II. 53.

Cf. Manu. V. 138, II.60.

per to consume the leavings of any person especially liquid foods such as water, milk rice, groats, curds, clarified butter and honey.¹

It is laid down that a man should not eat the leavings of women and Sūdras, as also what is eaten by a cat, a crow, a mouse, a dog, an ichneumon or food into which a hair or an insect has fallen.² The Mahābhārata gives a long list of those persons whose food should be avoided. The list includes a back-biter, a dealer in *roma*, an acrobat, one who is ungrateful, a potter, a fisherman, an actor, a goldsmith, a musician, a dealer in arms, a hunter, a dealer in liquors, a washerman, a cruel person, a barber, a physician, a woman who has a second husband, a prostitute and a harlot.³ Manu also lays down that a student, who has completed his Vedic studies, should never eat food given by in-

¹ पानीं पायसं सकूल् दधिसर्गमधून्यग्नि
निरस्य शोषमन्येषां त प्रदेषं तु कस्यचित् ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.104.

नोच्छिष्टं कस्यचिद् दद्यान्नाद्यच्छेव वधान्तरा ।
त चैवात्पश्चनं कुर्यात्तोच्छिष्टः कस्यचिद् दद्येत् ।

Manu. II.36.

² Manu. XI. 152, XI. 160.

शृदान्ता यस्तान्नमुद्दक्षते त भुद्दक्षते पृथिवीमलम् ।५
चिकित्सकः काण्डपृष्ठः सूराध्वकः पुरोहितः ।
सापत्तरो वृथाध्यायी सर्वे ते शृदसंचिताः ।१

Mbh. Anu. 198. 5.11.

श्रोतोज्ञानां तु भूक्षवात् स्त्रीशूद्रोच्छिष्टमेव च ।
जग्ध्वा मासमध्येष्व च सप्तरात्रे यदान् पिवेत् ।

Manu. XI. 152.

³ C.F. Manu. IV. 207-203, XI. 95-96, II.209.

प्रेतान्नं सूतिकान्नं च यज्ञं किञ्चिन्ददनिर्दशम् ।
अभीकर्यं चाप्यपेयं च धेनोद्यग्वमनिर्दशम् ।२६
रात्रान्नं तेज आदते शृदान्ते भद्रावर्चतम् ।
आपुः सुवर्णकाराधमवीराधावच योवितः ।२७
विष्टा वार्धुविकस्त्वान्नं गच्छिकाक्षमध्येन्द्रियम् ।
मृग्यन्ति ये जोपपाति स्त्रीजितान्नं च सर्वाः ।२८
दीक्षितस्य वादर्यह्य भूत्विकविकस्य च ।
तश्चात्मवाचवात्मुद्ध पृथक्षल्पा रजकस्य च ।२९
चिकित्सकस्य यस्त्वाज्ञप्रोज्य रक्षितस्तथा ।
गणपात्राभिशस्तानां रज्जुस्त्रीजीविनां यथा ।३०
परिवक्तीनां पूता च बन्दिष्युतविर्दा तथा ।३१

Mbh. Santi. 36.26-31.

रज्जलताभिदृष्टं च लं भागं रक्षसां विदुः ।४
श्ववृष्टं च यद् भूतमध्येन च भारते ।
परामपृष्ठं शाना चैव तं भागं रक्षसां विदुः ।५
कैवाकौटावपतितं क्षुतं रवभिरवेशितम् ।

toxicated, angry, or sick men nor what has been touched intentionally with the foot. He should also avoid food which is given without due respect or that which contains unsanctified meat, or the food of an enemy, or that given by the lord of a town or that on which anybody has sneezed. But roots and fruits could be accepted from persons of any caste.¹ Food kept overnight or which has turned sour was to be avoided but any preparations of clarified butter and the remnants of sacrificial offering could be taken even if they were kept overnight.²

Food was always eaten with respect and in a happy mood. It was believed that food taken in a happy mood made a man strong. It was laid down that a man should on no account drop a tear, become angry, or utter an untruth, nor should he revile food served to him.³

People generally took breakfast in the morning, lunch in the afternoon and dinner at sunset.⁴ It was considered improper to take any food between the two principal meals.⁵ Manu

सदित्तं चावधृतं च तं भागं रक्षसांचिदुः । ६।
 निरोक्तोरेण यद् भूत्तं सक्षस्त्रेण च भारत ।
 दुरात्मना च यद् भूत्तं तं भागं रक्षसां चिदुः । ७।
 परोन्निष्ठाण्टं च यद् भूत्तं च यद् भूत्तं ।
 दैवे पित्र्ये च सततं तं भागं रक्षसां चिदुः । ८।

Mbh. Anu. 23.4-8.

¹ Manu. V. 9, 10, 24, 25.

² यत्किंचित् स्वहस्तयुक्तं भव्य भोज्यमग्निलम् ।
 तत्स्युपितनम्याद्य हविःशोषं च यद् भवेत् ।

Manu. V. 24.

³ पूजयेदशान् नित्यमस्याच्चैतदकृत्सयन् ।
 हृष्ट्वा हृष्ट्येत् प्रतीदेव्यन् प्रतिनन्देच्च सर्वशः । ५४।
 पूजितं हृषान् निर्त्य वलमूर्त्य च यच्छ्रुतिः ।
 अपूजितं तु यद् भूत्तमूर्त्य नाशयेदगम् । ५५।

Manu. II. 54-55.

⁴ Rāmāyaṇa. Academy. 36.25, Sund. 12.9, Sundara. 11.

⁵ सायं प्रातर्द्विषातीनामशान् श्रुति षोडशितम् ।
 नान्तरा भोजनं कुरुमीदिव्याहोक्तसमो विधिः ।

Manu. II. 6.

सायं प्रातर्मन्त्याणामशान् देवनिर्मितम् ।
 नान्तरा भोजनं दृष्टमूपवासी तथा भवेत् ।

Mbh. Santi. 193.9.

अन्तरा प्रातराणां च सायमाणां तथैव च ।
 सदौपवासी स भवेद्यो न भूहक्तेन्तरा पुनः ।

Mbh. Santi. 221.10.

Cf. Mbh. Anu. 161.100.

lays down that one should not take food when walking nor should he take very early in the morning nor very late in the evening.¹ One should avoid over eating because it destroys health and bars heaven.²

A student was advised to subsist on alms and to abstain from honey, meat, flavours and all fermented acids.³ The ascetics generally lived on broken pieces of rice, *Kalmāsa*, oil cake, leaves, barley gruel, groats, roots and fruits or gleanings of corn. The fruit which the foresters used were those which fell from the tree without being plucked.⁴ They were expected to be moderate in food and to eat only as much as is necessary to maintain life.⁵

The general rules of etiquette were that a person should have at least two garments when taking his meals,⁶ and should

गम त्वा प्रातराशार्द्धमालमन्ते भक्षणसे ।

Rama. Sundara, 22.9.

¹ नाइनीयात् संविदेशार्था न गच्छन्नपि संविशेत् ।

Manu. IV. 55.

न भूज्ञीतोद्धृतस्तेह नातिसौहित्यमाचरेत् ।

नाति प्रगे नाति शर्वं न सायं प्रातराशितः ।

Manu. IV. 62.

² अनारोग्यमनारुप्यमस्वर्यं चालिभीषणम् ।

अपुष्यलोकविहिष्टं तस्मात्तत् परिचर्येत् ।

Manu. II. 37.

³ वर्जयेन्मवुं मात्वं च यन्वं मात्वं रक्षान् स्त्रियः ।

युक्तात्मिन् यानि सर्वाणि प्राणिनौ चैव हितानम् ।

Manu. II. 177.

⁴ वाणकुलमाप पिण्डाकशाकथामकसक्तवः ।

लथा मूलकल्पं भैरवं परियोगीपर्वीजयेत् ।

Mbh. Santi. 215.21.

शिलोङ्गं वृत्तिर्घमात्मा मुद्गलः संपत्तेन्द्रियः ।

Mbh. Vana. 260.3.

पुष्पमूलकलेवर्णिपि केवलैर्वंतेत् तदा ।

वानकावक्त्रैः स्वयंशोर्वैज्ञानसः ।

Manu. VI. 21.

Rama. Ay. 20.29, Ay. 28.12, Manu. III. 557.

निष्पत्तहृतः ।

⁵ वात्राशार्द्धं च भूज्ञीत केवलं प्रातराशितः ।

Rama. VII. 9.39.

⁶ वायतो न कवस्परशनासुविष्टः कदाचन

भूमौ सदैव नातनीयाप्राशीर्वं न च शब्दवत् ।

Mbh. Asvamedha.

तंक वस्त्रेण भोक्तव्यम् ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.101.

नाश्रमद्यादेकवासा न पग्नः स्वानभाष्टरेत् ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.71.

Manu. IV. 45.

not have his head dress and shoes on.¹ He should face the east for it was believed that the practice tends to long life.² He should eat in privacy and silently without making any sound while eating. He should take his meals in a sitting posture and not while walking.³ He should not take food, placing it in his lap, nor should he be too eager to eat.⁴ In a party the etiquette demanded that the same dishes should be served to all.⁵ It was considered improper to eat sweet dishes without sharing them with others.⁶ Women generally took their meals after their husbands had done so.⁷ Eating from the same dish with others was considered bad.⁸

¹ शहूषितविरो भुद्भूते यद् भुद्भूते दक्षिणमुखः।
सोमानिकरन्त यद् भुद्भूते ताहै रक्षासि भुद्भूते।

Mānū. III. 238.

² Mbh. Anu. 104.17, Mānū. II. 52.53.
प्रात्मूर्खी नित्यमदनीयात् वाग्वतोशमकुलसवन्।

Mānū. IV. 6.

³ निष्पण्णस्त्रापि लादेत न तु चक्षुन् कादाच्चन्।
मैथुनं सततं गुप्तमाहारं च सनाचरेत्।

Mbā. Anu. 161.6.

⁴ लोकान्गेभक्षयेद् भक्षयात् जातुस्यात् कुतुहली।

Mbā. Anu. 161.63.

⁵ अतिवीनां च सर्वेषां प्रेष्याणां स्वजनस्य च
सामान्यं भोजनं भृत्यः पुरुषस्य प्रशस्तते।

Mbā. Anu. 163.47.

समानमैकपद्मकर्यां तु भोजयमश्च नदेवरं।
विवेद्वालिहङ्गं भुद्भूते वोद्यादाय सुहृद्भूते।

Mbh. Santi. 193.9.

⁶ तावलीदमवशात्माद्वालं भक्षयेदपि।
तथानोद्भुतसाराणि प्रेष्यात्मकदाय च।

Mbh. Anu. 161.73.

⁷ कर्त्तवय स्वाकुरुत भोज्यं एको नास्ताति राक्षव।
पुत्रैर्देव भूत्यैव त्वं गृहे परिवारितः।
स एको नृष्टमस्तात् यस्यार्थान् नृमतेगतः।

Mbh. Anu. 161.93.

⁸ Mānū. III. 229.
? Rāma. Ay. 19.36-37, Aśadhyā. 16.28.
परीक्षन् दौषदी लवान् दिजातीर्श यशस्विनी
मातुवद् भोजयित्वाच्च शिष्टमाहारवत्तदा।

Rāma. Ay. 100.73.

तादनीयाद् भावेषा साधम् नैकामीक्षेत चास्त्रतीम्।
समानमैकपाने तु भुद्भूतेनाश्च जनेवर।

Rāma. Ay. 75.34.

Mbh. Vana. 58.8.

Mānū. IV. 43.

Mbh. Anu. 161.94.

We come across almost the same taboos as in the Sūtras. Onions, garlic, and all plants growing on an impure piece of land such as mushrooms, *Bhūtīrya*, *Sigra* and *Slesmātaka* were avoided.¹ It is laid down in the Mahābhārata that one desirous of prosperity should avoid the fruits of *Pippala*, *Vāta* and *Uduimbara* and the leaves of hemp.² Preparations of sesamum were avoided after sunset.³

Feasts were generally given at the time of sacrifices. At such sacrifices Brāhmaṇas who sold meat were not invited.⁴ Generally three noble Brāhmaṇas were issued an invitation to a feast for the manes,⁵ one day before or on the actual day of the feast. All kinds of dainty dishes were served by waiters who were well dressed with ornaments.⁶ In the forest Rāma per-

¹ वर्जयेन्यथा मोसं च भौमानि कवकानि च ।
भूतूर्ण शिशूरुं चैव द्वेष्वात्मकवलानि च ।

Manu. VI. 14.

लशुनं गृज्जनं चैव पलाण्डुं कवकानि च
भगव्याणि द्विवातोनाममेव्यप्रभकाणि च ।

Manu. V. 5.

क्षत्रिकं दिद् वराहं च लशुनं ग्रामकुकुट्टिम्
पलाण्डुं गृज्जनं चैव मत्या जाय्या पतेद् दिजः ।

Manu. V. 19.

स्थलज्ञोदकशाकानिपुष्पमूलफलानि च ।
मेष्य वृक्षोद्भवान्यदात् सस्नेहाश्च कलसंभवान् ।

Manu. VI. 13.

² पिण्डानि च वटं चैव दण्डाकां दुष्टेव च ।
उद्भवरं न खादेवन् भवार्थी पुरुषो नृप ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.97.

³ तारेक्ष्यं तिलसम्बद्धं नाचादस्तमिते रसौ ।

Manu. IV. 73.

⁴ चिकित्सकान् देवसकान्मांसपित्रियिणस्तथा
विषणे च जीवन्ती वज्राः स्पुर्हेवकल्पयोः ।

Manu. III. 152.

⁵ पूर्वेषुपरेषुर्वा थाहकर्मण्युपस्थिते ।
विमन्त्रयेत् अष्वरान् सम्भर्गं विप्रान् यशोदिलान् ।

Manu. III. 187.

⁶ स्वलंकृताश्च पुरुषा नाह्यानान् पर्येवपयन्
उपासते च तानन्ये सुमृष्टमणिकुण्डलाः ।

Rama. Bal. 14.8.

यस्य चाहारसमये सूदाः कुण्डलधारिणः ।

Rama. Ayo. 12.95.

परिवेषणं च विप्रणां प्रयताः संप्रचकिरे ।

Rama. Uttara. 92.6.

C.f. Rama. Ay. 12.83, Aranya. 56.24, Sundara. 22.9.

formed these rites by offering fruits such as *inguda*, jujube and *bilva*, but generally the food served to the Brāhmaṇas consisted of such stuffs as were eaten by hermits in the forest; milk, soma juice and meat which is not prepared with spices.¹ It was generally served hot and prepared with clarified butter.² The Salva festival *Samāja* is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. On such occasions feasts accompanied by drinking were common.³ Some idea of the feasts in these days can be had from the description of the feasts which *Vasishtha* and *Bhāradvāja* gave in honour of the visit of *Viśvāmitra* and *Bharata* respectively.⁴

The food of the rich generally consisted of meat preparations, of the middle class people of dairy products, and of the poor of food preparations cooked in oil.⁵ People used to take with them some food when proceeding on a journey.⁶ From the *Sārasvata Upākhyāna* in the *Salyaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* we know that the *Sārasvata Brāhmaṇas* had no objection to taking meat diet.⁷ The custom of betel chewing after meals is mentioned no where in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* probably

महानसेषु तिदेषु संस्कृतेभ्यो भारत ।
भारत्यमाणं बृथ्यो व्यदृश्यन्त सहस्राणाः ।

Mbh. Mausala, 2.

गृणांश्च मूषकाकाश्यान् पौष्टीधि वृतं मधुं
विन्यसेत् प्रयतः पूर्वे भूमावेव समाहितः ।

Manu, III, 226.

भृशं भौजयं च विविदं मूलाणि च पालाणि च
हृशाणि चैव मांसाणि पनाणि सुरभीणि च ।

Manu, III, 227.

C.F. Rama. Bal, 53.1, 54.22, VII, 92.6, VII, 92.11.

¹ इत्यैवेद्यैः वित्वं रामस्तर्णयते पितृन् ।
यदेत्तं पृष्ठो भृद्वन्ते तवसास्तस्य देष्टोः ।

Rama. Ay, 103.30.

² Manu, III, 257, 236.

अत्युष्णं सर्वमन्तं स्याद् भूञ्जीरस्ते वाच्यताः ।
न च द्विनातयो शूद्रूदानां पृष्ठा हृविन्यान् ।

Manu, III, 236.

³ Hopkins.-Epic Mythology, pp. 63.220.

⁴ Rama. Bal, 52 and 53, Ay. 91.

⁵ प्राण्डियाणां मांसं परमं भव्याणां गोप्त्वीतरम्
तुलोत्तरं द्विदिणां भौजनं भरतवंशं ।

Mbh. Udyoga, 34.49.

⁶ दत्तपव्यशना द्रुता जग्मुः स्वं स्वं निकेतनम् ।
केक्यास्ते गम्भिष्यन्ते हृवनाशहु संभवान् ।

Ram. Ay, 68.10.

⁷ Mbh. Salya, 31.

because it had not yet become a part of the Aryan etiquette.

The inhabitants of the Vählika region did not observe all the rules about the purity of food. Their food habits have been condemned in the Karna Parva of the Mahâbhârata. Their meal consisted of groats, fish, beef and liquor prepared from treacle. Other food articles which they used were parched barley, garlic, onions, cakes, meat of pigs, cocks, asses, camels and rams, and churned curds. They also took the milk of sheep, camels and asses and could take their meals with persons of all castes. They used wooden vessels and earthenware for taking food. Their women were addicted to drinking.¹

We have already referred to the non-Aryan people the Vâeras who subsisted on the roots, fruits and tubers of the forest and the Râksâsas whose meal mostly consisted of meat preparations and strong liquors. In the Râmâyana the description of Râvana's kitchen and in the Mahâbhârata the account of Hiçimba shows that these people were not affected by the civilizing influence of the Aryans.²

To sum up in the epics and the Manu-smriti we have a society divided into three broad strata; the rich, the middle classes and the poor. The rich enjoyed many meat preparations and dainties. The food of the middle classes generally consisted of milk and

1 येदा गृहेष्वपिष्ठानो सत्तुमस्त्वाचिनो तथा।

पीत्वा सीधु सप्तमासं कन्दन्ति च हृत्यन्ति च।

वाकांस्पृस्य नृत्यन्ति स्त्रियो या मध्यमोहिताः।

Mbh. Karna. 40. 27-28.

भानामीद्वासवं पीत्वा गोमासं लक्ष्यनः सह।

अपूर्वमोसवाद्यानाम् विनः शीलवर्जिताः। ११।

शशपूर्वान् सत्तु पिष्ठादेव प्राशनानो मधितान्वितान्। १२।

पश्चात्पृष्ठाद्युप्युतान् खादली चैकान् चहून्।

वाराहं वौकुर्तं भासं गव्यं गार्दभमोद्विकम्। १३।

काष्ठकुरुदेव चाल्हीका मृत्येषु च भूत्यते। १४।

सकुनद्यावलिनेषु एवावलीडेषु निर्षुणाः।

आदिकं चौपिकं चेव शीरं गार्दभेष च। १५।

उटिकारा वाहीकाः खादन्ति च पिवन्ति च।

पुरुसकरिणी जात्मा: शवाविश्वारभोजनाः। १६।

Mbh. Karna. 44. 11-37.

Churned curds (*Mathitas*) and meat preparations are popular in the Punjab even to this day.

¹ See p. 108, f. n. 1.

articles cooked in clarified butter while the poor were satisfied with food articles cooked in oil. The jungle tribes such as the *Vānaras* and the *Rākṣasas* lived mainly on roots and fruit and meat preparations respectively. With the passage of time a feeling of revulsion against meat diet was growing in the Aryan society and it was considered meritorious to live on vegetarian dishes alone. But in the Punjab some people relished even beef. Drinking was common in the Punjab and in the Southern India where Aryan influence had not yet fully penetrated. The list of those persons whose food should be avoided has been considerably increased probably to maintain the purity of race. The art of cooking was further developed on account of the keen interest taken by royal princes and grand feasts were commoner on such occasions as marriages and sacrifices.

CHAPTER V
FOOD AND DRINKS
(75 A.D. To 300 A.D.)

For the period 75 A.D. to 300 A.D. our principal sources of information are the medical treatises of Caraka and Suśruta. We may supplement their information by that provided by the two other medical works composed during our period, the Samhitās of Bhela and Kaśyapa. For the views of the society about interdining and other rules of diet we have utilised the Viśṇu Dharmasūtra and the Yājñavalkya Smṛti which were according to Dr. Kane, composed not later than 300 A.D.

According to the authors of the medical works it is food alone which sustains life. If proper food is taken it brings vitality, refreshes all the limbs, strengthens the sources of life, develops the faculties of memory and intelligence, increases the physical strength and makes the complexion clear. If proper diet is not taken the result is unhappiness.¹ Human body is made of five elements and food articles are also composed of five elements. If, the food articles are properly digested, they nourish the respective elements in the body² and the three primary humours

¹ न भ्राह्माद्यते श्राणिनां प्राणाधिकानं किञ्चिदप्युपलभामहे स सम्बन्धयुज्यमानो वीवति, रुद्रेत्रियाणि छादयति, लाकूनायाशति, सृतिमतिशर्वतलौनास्यूर्यति, वर्णप्रवादं चोपजनयति, असम्बन्धयुज्यमानस्तत्त्वसुखेनोपयोजयति ।

Kaśyapa, Khila, V. 3.

हिताहारोपयोग एक एव पुरुषस्यानिवृत्तिकरो भवति अहिताहारोपयोगः पुनर्व्याधीता निमित्तमिति ।

Caraka, Su. 25. 31.

बलमारोग्यमायुद्धं प्राणाशान्ती प्रतिष्ठितः ।

अस्पन्ननेत्रनेत्रवानिवृद्धियते शास्यतेऽन्यथा ।

Caraka, Su. 27. 340.

² एवन्ननूतात्मके देहस्ताहारः पात्रभीतिकः ।

विपद्धः एवन्नवासम्यग् गुणानस्त्वाननिवर्धयत् ।

अविद्यमः कष्ट पित्त विद्यमः पवनं पूर्णः

सम्बन्धिपक्वोनिःसार शाहारः परिवृह्यते ।

Suśruta, Su. 46. 326-327.

wind, gall and mucus are not disturbed. If it is not properly digested it deranges one or more of these humours and diseases are caused.¹ They have, therefore, paid special attention to the topic of food and drinks and devoted special chapters to discuss the subject.

Food articles have been divided into four categories, beverages, food which does not require chewing, that which requires chewing and that which is taken by licking.² All the food articles consist of six flavours sweet, acid, salt, pungent, astringent and bitter. All these flavours increase one or more of the three primary humours of the human body. A proper balance of these flavours keeps man free from all diseases and enables him to lead a happy and healthy life.³

CEREALS AND PULSES

Food grains have been divided into two kinds, those with awns and those having legumes.⁴ Of the first kind the most important was rice with its three main varieties—*Vṛkhi* ripening in autumn, *Sāli* ripening in winter and *Sāffaka* ripening in sixty

¹ वायुः पितं कमलचोक्तः शारीरो दोषसंत्रहः।

मानसः पुनर्द्विष्टो रजस्व तपएव च।

Caraka, Su. I. 56.

शारीरास्वस्थपानमूला काशपित्तकक्षीणितलक्षिपातवैषम्यनिपित्ता।

Susruta, Su. I. 25.

² चतुर्विधोपयोगः वानाशनत्रयलेखोपयोगात्।

Caraka, Su. 25.36.

³ यद् भक्षयति भृद्धक्ते वा विधिवच्चनापि मानवः।

पैयः च किञ्चित् पिवति तत्तर्वं वदृतानितम्।

Bhela. XXVIII. p. 47.

प्राणिनामुन्मूलामाहारो बलवर्णोजसां च। स वट्टमु रसेष्वामतः रसाः पुनर्द्विष्टाक्षयाः, इव्याणि पुनरोपयमः।

Susruta, Su. I. 28.

एवंतेष्व पद्मस्तः पृथक्त्वेनैकत्वेन वा मानवः सम्युग्यवृज्यमाना उपकारकरा भवत्य-व्यास्थास्त्रीकर्त्य अपकारकरा: पुनर्पोज्यवोपयूज्यमानाः, तान् विहानूपकारीर्वेष्व मानवः सम्युग्यप्रयोगान्वेदिति।

Caraka, Su. 26.66.

स्वाद्वाप्तस्त्रवणा वायुं कषायस्त्रादुतिक्षकाः।

जवनिति पितं शोषेष्वार्थं कषायकटुलिक्षकाः।

Caraka, Su. I. 65.

⁴ *Sāla dhārya* (those with awns)

Sāmi dhārya (leguminous plants)

Caraka, Su. 27.6.

days in summer.¹ The *Vrīhi* variety was considered inferior to the other two varieties.² The most popular varieties of *Sāli* rice were—*raktaśāli*, *mabāśāli*, and *kalama*³ and of *Vrīhi* rice the black variety called *Kṛṣṇavṛīhi*.⁴ *Sastika* rice was considered very nourishing and its daily use is recommended.⁵ Some inferior cereals such as *Koradūraka*, *Syāmāka*, *Nivāra*, *Varaka* and *Priyamgū* were used by poor people and ascetics.⁶ Two varieties of

¹ शालि हृमन्तं घान्यम् वर्षिकाद्यरच श्रीवाक्ता: श्रीहयः शारदा:।

Cakrapāni on *Caraka*, Su. 27.

² वर्षिकाद्यरचलिन्दूराश्च सैवेदामलके यवान्।

आन्तरीक्षं पयः सप्तिज्ञितं नषु चान्यसेवु।

Caraka, Su. 5, 10.

³ *Caraka* mentions fifteen good varieties of *Sāli* rice—*Raktaśāli*, *Mabāśāli*, *Kalama*, *Sakusālgata*, *Tārgatā Dirghatākha*, *Gaura*, *Pāṇḍuka*, *Lāṅgula*, *Sugan-*
dhika, *Lohavāla*, *Sārīra*, *Pramodaka*, *Patanga* and *Tapanīya*.
(*Caraka*, Su. 27. 7-8).

The five inferior varieties of *Sāli* rice are *Yanaka*, *Hāyana*, *Pāmīra*,
Vāpya and *Naiṣadabha*.

(*Caraka*, Su. 27. 11).

C.f. *Susruta*, 46.4, *Bhela*, XXVIII, p. 48.

सोहितशास्यः शुक्वशास्यानां पश्यतमर्त्वे भेष्टतमाभवन्ति

Caraka, Su. 25, p. 150.

तेषां सोहितकः ष्टेष्टो दीष्टानः शुक्वमूक्ताः।

Susruta, Su. 46.6.

एतत्वाद्विवर्त्तेद्वाग्नरोक्ष्यात्त्वापवेन च।

Bhela, XXVIII, p. 48.

वर्षिका यवगोभूमा सोहिता ये च शास्यः।

मूदगावकीमसूराश्च घान्येषु प्रवरा: स्मृताः।

Susruta, Su. 46.332.

* हृष्टं श्रीहितशालामुखलतुमुखलदीमुखलाक्षकक्षरस्तिक शुक्वाटाष्टका पारावतक पाटल
प्रभृतयो श्रीहयः।

Susruta, Su. 46.12.

कृष्णश्रीहितरस्तीवां कश्यावान् रसोलघुः।

Susruta, Su. 46.14.

* Besides the two varieties of *Sastika* rice one white and the other black white, *Caraka* mentions *Varaka*, *Uddhikaka*, *Cina*, *Sārīra*, *Ujjvala*, *Dardura*, *Gandhala* and *Kurupisīga* in this category.

(*Caraka*, Su. 27. 13-14).

C.f. *Susruta*, 46.8.

माषयूपेषु यो भुक्तवा घृताह्यं वर्षिकोद्यनम्।

पयः विवर्ति रात्रिं दु तुरस्ता जारीति वेगवान्।

Caraka, Ci. II, 1-47.

वर्षिकः प्रवरस्तीवां कश्यावान् रसो लघुः।

Susruta, 46.10.

* The following varieties of inferior cereals are mentioned—*Pāpala*, *Koradūraka*, *Syāmāka*, *Lohitāpī*, *Priyamgū*, *Mukunda*, *Jhūnti*, *Garmūti*, *Caraka*, *Varaka*, *Sīvīra*, *Uthapa* and *Jīrpa*.

(*Caraka*, Su. 27. 15-17).

wheat *Madhuśikā* and *Nandimukhi* have been mentioned by Suśruta in the list of inferior foodgrains, which shows that wheat had not till then reached its present prominent position.¹ Barley continued to be the staple food grain besides rice.² Many pulses were in use but the most popular were *Mudga*, *Ādhākī* and *Māṣāra*.³ The medical works regard *Māṣāra* as the worst pulse because it was difficult to digest.⁴ *Kulattha* is prescribed for a feeding mother with a view to increase her milk.⁵

Rice was washed and cooked in water or milk with fats, meat, fruits, tubers or pulses.⁶ Gruels were named according to the proportion of water they contained. They were either

¹ कोरदूषक इयमाक नीवार वान्नतन् वरकोदालक पित्तं मधुलिका नान्दीमुखी कुहावद
मधुषुक सरबस्तक तीयपर्णी मुकुन्दक वेणुद्व शस्त्रयः कुचान्य विशेषाः।

Susruta, Su. 46.21.

² Caraka, Su. 27.19, Susruta, Su. 46, Bhela, p. 44.

³ Caraka mentions, *Mudga*, *Māṣāra*, *Rājāmēṣa*, *Kulattha*, *Makūṣṭhaka*, *Caraka*, *Māṣāra*, *Khaṇḍikā*, *Hareṇu*, *Sīmī*, *Ādhākī*, *Anāgūḍī*, *Edgīya*, *Nīṣpāṇa*, *Kōkāṇḍola* and *Ātmagūḍī*.

(Caraka, Su. 27. 22-23).

C.f. Bhela XXVIII, p. 48.

चणकादच मसूरादच लिष्टिकाः सहरेणवः।

तथवः शीतमधुराः सकपायतः विलवणाः।

Caraka, Su. 27.28.

मुद्गवत्तमुद्गकाद्यामकुष्ठमसूरमङ्गलवणकसतीनत्रिपुटकहरेणुभादकी प्रभूतयः वैदलाः।

Susruta, Su. 46.27.

हरेणवो यसूरादच सतिनाशव तथादके।

कुलुद्यस्तक विशेषेण कपायमधुरा रसै।

Bhela, p. 46.

मुद्गादकी मसूरादच धान्येषु प्रवरा: स्मृताः।

Susruta, Su. 46. 332.

⁴ भाषाः शशीधानवानाम् अपध्यतमवेन प्रकृष्टमाभवत्ति।

Caraka, Su. 25. p. 150.

⁵ Kasyapa, Sam. XIX.

⁶ मुषीतः प्रसुतः हित्तः संतप्तश्चौदनो ततुः।

अचौतोऽप्रसुतोऽस्त्वितः शीतशताप्योदनो गृहः।

Caraka, Su. 27.216.

C.f. Susruta, Su. 46.347.

नुङ्डोदनं पायसं च हविष्यं क्षीरपद्धिकम्

दम्प्योदनं हविष्यन्नं पायसं चिकाप्तमेव च।

Yaj. I. 303-304.

स्नेहैर्देहैर्देहैः कल्हैर्देहाम्लेदच संयुताः।

गुरुतो वृहूषा वस्त्वा ये च शीरोपसाधिदाः।

Susruta, Su. 46.349.

drunk or licked.¹ One of the tasty soups was prepared with parched rice, long pepper, dry ginger and the juice of pomegranates.²

All the old preparations of cereals such as groats, parched barley and rice, *Kulmāṣa*, *Sāskūṭi*, *Prthuka*, *Kṛṣara* and *Apāpa* were in use.³ Groats were also eaten in the form of a

¹ शिर्षवैविरहिती मण्डः पेता सिवयसमन्विता
विलेपी व्युत्सिक्षा स्नाद् यवाग्निरसद्रवा।

Susruta, Su. 46.341.

If the quantity of water mixed for cooking was four times that of food grains it was called *Vṛteṣī*, if five times, it was called *Āsava*, if six times, *Yavāgī* and if fourteen times *Masṛī*.

मण्ड पञ्चगुणे दीपे यवाण् पद्मगुणे पचेत्
चतुर्दशगुणे मण्ड विलेपी तु चतुर्णि।

Dalhana on Susruta, Su. 46.

² पेताहि सिद्धा शह वातिमेन तत्तेज चक्रेण चक्षेन चोण्णा।

चर्मवृक्षा चाशु विहृन्ति तृष्णा कालोपपत्ता मरिषाद्रकाभ्याम्।

Kas. Sam. Su. 13.

³ *Sākṣa* (parched barley meal)—Caraka Su. 27.263. Groats mixed with clarified butter or cold water neither too thick nor too thin in consistency were called *Masṛī*. They were also mixed with sour gruel, treacle, sugar, juice of sugarcane and grapes (Susruta, Su. 46. 383). Caraka Su. 27.262 also mentions groats of parched paddy.

सक्षाः सपिषामृताः शीततवारिस्त्रिष्टुताः
नात्यच्छा नातिसान्त्राश्च मन्त्रहत्यनिवीयते।

Cakrapāṇi on Caraka Su. 6.28.

Dhāmīḍa (parched barley, Caraka, Su. 27.264).

Spouted barley was also parched (*Vīrāḍha dhāmīḍa*).

विरहवानाशकुल्यो मधुकोडः सपिष्ठकाः।

पूरा: पूपिलिकाश्च शुरवः पैदिकाः परम्।

Caraka, Su. 27.267.

Porridge of parched barley was also used. (*Vīrya*).

हृष्णाद् व्याशीन् यथापूर्णी यावको वाट्यएव च।

Caraka, Su. 27.265.

Bhrīṣa sāṅkūṭa—Parched rice was also used in preparing a porridge, भृष्टस्वृलभिन्नान्ति गरहलेम्याद्येष्वपि।

Caraka, Su. 27.257.

Kulmāṣa—Barley flour slightly boiled in warm water, and made into cakes.

सपिष्ठमूल्योदकतिष्ठमीषत् हिन्द्रमपूर्णीकृतं कुलमपिमाहु।

Cakrapāṇi on Caraka Su. 27.260.

Sāskūṭi—Delicious cakes prepared with fine rice or gram meal mixed with sesamum and fried in oil.

शालिपिष्टः सतित्वस्त्वंपत्तवः क्रियन्ते।

Cakrapāṇi on Caraka Su. 27.265.

Cf. Susruta, Su. 46.400.

चणकादिपिष्टकुता: सतित्वा: हेतभृष्टाःशकुतीः।

Dalhana on Susruta Su., 46.400.

paste.¹ A new preparation of rice or wheat called *Vigyanda* is mentioned in the *Suśruta*.² A cake of barley flour with a broad bottom and a pointed top with some marks in the middle was called *Svastika*.³ Many sweet preparations were made from powdered wheat flour in this period.⁴

Pulses such as *Mudga*, *Masūra*, gram and pea were parched and eaten,⁵ besides being made into soups.⁶ Beans of *mudga*

Pribuka

आद्रिकालिभावं मुदुभ्रष्टं मुसलाधात्तिष्ठीभूतावयवं पशुका इत्युच्चन्ते।

Dalhara.

C.f. Kas-Sam. p. 303, *Suśruta*, Su. 46.415.

Saya

निस्तुवंयुक्तिभवं च सूधं लघु विषयते।

Suśruta, Su. 46.310.

Kṛṣṇa—a porridge prepared with sesamum rice and *māṣa* pulse (*Suśruta*, Su. 46.346).

वृथा कुसर संयाव पायसापूपवाण्मुखीः।

Yaj. I. 173.

Palasandana—Rice cooked with ground sesamum.

हृताकृतस्तद्वृलाश्च पसलीवनमेव च।

Yaj. I. 287.

Apāsa—Cakes of barley or rice meal—*Cataka*, Su. 27.265.

¹ सकूतामवलेहिका।

Suśruta, Su. 46.412.

² *Vigyanda*—It was either a preparation of rice grains fried in ghee, or wheat flour mixed with ghee, milk and treacle. It was neither too thick nor too thin in consistency. (*Suśruta*, Su. 46.398).

वृत्तभ्रष्ट तण्डुलाः भवता सामगोधूमनूर्णं च सप्ति क्षीरगुडान्वितम्। नाति सान्द्रो नातिव्यन्तो विष्यन्वेताम नामतः।

Dalhara.

³ *Svastika*—*Suśruta*, Uttara, 60.33.

स्वस्तिको यवादि चूर्णे कुतोऽवोभागे विस्तीर्ण ऊङ्कैभागे तीक्ष्णो भव्ये वलिमय गुडाच्छुदीभ्रष्ट्य विशेषः।

Dalhara.

⁴ *Sāmīḍha* (preparation of powdered wheat meal) stuffed with boiled and ground *mudga*.

Suśruta, Su. 46.399.

⁵ मुहुरात् यस्तुरात्तरणकात् कलावात् भृष्टात् युष्टात् नागरमालिकाभ्याम्।

लिहात् तथेव विफलाविडङ्गं चूर्णं विड्युप्लववयोरुद्योवा।

Cataka, Cikitsā, 20.37.

⁶ *Yajja* was generally a soup of pulses prepared with spices (*aryavīra*) or without them (*ākṛtyajīva*). The Kāśyapa *Saṃhitā* mentions twenty four varieties of *Yajjas*. The most common were those prepared with *Mudga* and *Kaliattha*.

अस्त्रेह लवणं रस्वमकृतं कटुकैविना।

विशेषं लवणस्तनेहकटुकः चंयुतम् कृतम्।

Suśruta, Su. 46.379.

or gram when parched in fire were called *Ushambha*.¹ *Parpatal* were prepared with flour of pulses, as in the past.²

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Milk was considered a complete diet and is recommended as a most nourishing food.³ Unboiled milk was considered heavy while freshly milked warm milk was considered wholesome. Overboiled milk was considered difficult to digest.⁴ Milk of cows, buffaloes, goats, mares, sheep, elephants, does,

मुद्गयूषोविरसिकायूषोदाडिमकस्तथा । १६।
 चित्रकामलकानां च द्वौ यूषो परिकीर्तितौ ।
 पत्रकोलकयूषो ही संप्राप्तही दीप्तस्तथा २०।
 शान्तयूषोउष कौलश्च: कलयूषवद्वर्त्तिन ।
 पुण्यूषः पत्रयूषो वल्कयूषस्तथैव च । २१।
 मुरुषः पहलवयूषवद्व यमायूषस्तथैव च । २२।
 रास्तायूषो महायूषवद्व चाञ्जीर्यामूलकस्तथैव च । २३।
 मुननवातिवलयो मुद्गकम्बलिकस्तथा ।
 मुस्यनिकट्टयूषवद्व लक्ष्मीदलित्तुकेन च ।

Kasyapa. Yūs. 19-23.
 Susruta. Su. 46.367.
 Sushruta. Su. 46.372.

¹ Susruta. Su. 46.410.

मुद्गकालायादिशिष्मा अग्निपत्रवाहोलका इत्युच्यन्ते । होलका: उलुम्बाः ।
 Dalhana.

² Caraka. Su. 27.272.

³ सर्वं दुर्बनभिष्यन्ति दद्यन् तेऽप्योनिषिष्यते ।
 वाची भवति दुर्बिन वलं जायुपक्षायते ।
 संजीवनं संभवति सर्वं शीरमुदाहृतम् ।

Bhela. XXVIII. p. 49.
 शीरं तर्बेतो दैहिनांकान् त्वेते शीरं पिवन्तं च न रोग दृष्टि ।
 क्षीरात्परं नान्यदिहस्ति वृद्धं क्षीरात्परं नास्ति च जीवनीयम् ।
 Kasyapa. Bhojana. 90.

उपवासात्प्रभावस्त्रीमारुतासपकमंभिः ।
 वलात्तानामनुपातार्यं पद्यः पद्यं यथामृतम् ।

Caraka. Su. 27.322.

⁴ पद्योभिष्यन्ति गुर्वाचिं प्रायशः परिकीर्तितम् ।
 धारोऽप्नं गृष्णवत् शीरं विपरीतमचोन्द्रया ।
 तदेवातिशूर्तं शीरं गुरुं वृहणमुच्यते ।

Susruta. Su. 43. 61-63.

camels and women was used.¹ Milk of buffaloes was considered good for those whose digestive system was good.² Beastings were avoided for a few days. Yājñavalkya lays down that the milk of a cow in heat, not giving milk at proper time, without her young one or the milk of camels, one hoofed animals, women, animals living in a forest and of sheep should be avoided.³ Milk and ghee of a cow were considered the best and those of a sheep the worst.⁴ Milk rice was popular as before.⁵

The use of curds is not recommended in the autumn, the summer and the spring seasons.⁶ Cream of milk, and of curds, whey, fresh butter, clarified butter and butter milk were all used.⁷

¹ मधिकीरमजाकीरं गोकीरं भाहिषं च यत्।
उप्तीणमय नामीनां वदवादा: स्त्रियास्तया।

Caraka. Su. I. 106.

² महानिष्पन्निर्मधुरं भाहिषं वह्निनाशनम्।

Susruta. Su. 45.55.

³ Caraka. Su. 27.

संधिन्यनिर्देशावत्ता गोपयः परिवर्जयेत्।
शोष्यन्तेकषकं स्त्रीणमारण्यकमयाविकम्।

Yaj. I. 170.

⁴ गव्यं सप्तः सप्तां गोकीरं क्षीराणाम्..... (पश्यतमत्वेन थेष्ठतमाभवन्ति)
आविकं सप्तः सप्ताणाम् अविकीरं क्षीराणाम्..... (पश्यतमत्वेन प्रश्नष्ठतमाभवन्ति)

Caraka. Su. 25 p. 281.

गुल्मी कीरं चूतं थेष्ठम्।

Susruta. Su. 6.336.

⁵ *Pāyasa* (milk rice)—Yaj. I. 303, 173. Susruta. Su. 46.346. It appears from Yaj. that milk rice with *Saffika* rice was considered the best.

⁶ शरदमीमवसर्तेषु प्रायशो दधि गृह्णतम्।

Caraka. Su. 27.226.

Kasyapa. Bhoj. Kalpa 46, Susruta. 45.65.

Curds prepared from skimmed milk (*asāra dadbi*, Susruta. 45. 83) were also used.

⁷ *Santānikā*—(cream of milk) It was considered a tonic—Susruta. Su. 45.106.

Sara (cream of curds)

सरः दध्युपरि स्नेहः।

Cakrapāṇi. on Caraka. Su. 227.

Mastu (whey)—It is called *Māgda* in Caraka. Su. 27.227.

Navanita (fresh butter)—Caraka. Su. 27.229, Susruta. Su. 45.92.

Ghrītam (clarified butter)—Cow's butter was considered the best. Caraka. Su. 27.229, Susruta. Su. 45.96.

Takra (butter milk)—Kasyapa Bhoj. 46, Caraka. Su. 27.228, Susruta. Su. 45.84.

Milk not fully curdled was considered injurious to health. Beatings, and solid part of inspissated milk were considered heavy to digest.¹ Curds churned without water were also used.² Butter was taken out by churning milk as well as curds.³ Old clarified butter was considered a panacea while condensed upper part of clarified butter was considered good for health.⁴

Curds were eaten with treacle⁵ and sweets were prepared with inspissated milk.⁶ Of the preparation of curds *rasālā* or *Sikharīpī*⁷ was the most popular, but there was another preparation of curds called *Saffaka*. In one variety of *Saffaka*, pieces of cloves, and seeds of sour pomegranate were mixed with curds. Camphor was used to make it fragrant.⁸

¹ *Mandadandī*—Caraka. Su. 27.228, Susruta. Su. 45.67.

² *Gholam*—

यत् स्तनेहमजलं मधितं द्वीपमुच्यते ।

Susruta. Su. 45.83.

³ क्षीरोर्ध्वं एव नन्दनीतमुक्तवद्दनेहमाप्युभ्यं भवित्वात् सौकुमार्यकरं चक्षुष्यं संप्राप्ति रक्त-
पित्तनेव दोषहरं प्रसादान्वत् ।

Susruta. Su. 45.93.

⁴ *Kumbha ghrītam*—Clarified butter matured from 11 to 100 years.

Ghrīta mayūram—Condensed upper stratum of clarified butter.

Susruta. Su. 45.106.

⁵ *Sugruḍa dadbi*—Susruta. Su. 27.277.

⁶ *Kārtikī* (solid ingredients of inspissated milk)—It is called *Kilāta* in Caraka. Su. 27.233. Its daily use is not recommended. Sweets prepared from it were called *Kārtikī vikṛīpī*. Susruta. Su. 46.403.

कूचिकीभूत कीरदम घनभागः किलाटः ।

Cakrapāpi.

कूचिकांश्च किलाटांश्च शौकरं गव्यगताद्येष्व

मत्स्यान्दधि च मांसांश्च च शीलयेत् ।

Caraka. Su. 3.9.

विषचितं क्षीरं घनत्वमापेभं नूचिका ।

Dalhara. on Susruta Su. 45.90.

⁷ Caraka. Su. 27.276, Susruta. Su. 46.384.

अधारिकं सुचिरपर्युषितस्यद्वच्छः खण्डस्यगोडकापल्लानिशाशिप्रभस्य । ।

सुपिण्डलं भवुपलं मरिचेहिकर्बम् चूष्णयाः प्रसार्वमपि जार्वपलं चतुर्णम् ।

चूहमे एषे ललनवा मृदुगाणिष्वृद्धा कर्पूरस्त्रिमुरभीकृतं पात्रं संस्था ।

एषावृकोदरकृता तरला रसाला याऽस्त्वादिता भगवता मधुसूदनेन ।

Cakrapāpi.

⁸ नवज्ञयोषकाण्डस्तु दधि निरम्भ गालिहम् ।

दाविमवीजसंयुक्तं चन्द्रचूणिविचूणितम् ।

सदृकं सुप्रभोदाल्यं नलादिभिरस्याहूतम् ।

Dalhara.

MEAT DIET

Meat was considered a very nourishing diet.¹ It is prescribed for the weak, the convalescent and the people addicted to wine and women and for those doing excessive physical work.² Meat of goats, *Robita* fish, tortoises, deer, parrots, quails, partridges, hares, peacocks, and alligators was considered good for food.³ Other animals whose flesh was eaten were sheep, geese, cocks, porcupines, pigeons, cows, jackals, fish and some birds.⁴

For those whose digestive system was good or who took physical exercise daily the flesh of creatures which dart suddenly on their prey, living in holes underground, in marshy places, in water or walking in water was regarded as suitable.⁵ As the digestive system is generally in good order in winter the flesh of these animals is also recommended for the winter season.⁶

Dried or putrid flesh as well as the flesh of those animals which were diseased, old, emaciated or poisonous, of those bitten by snakes, of tender in age, of those fed on unnatural food and of those struck with a poisoned dart was avoided.⁷

¹ शरीरवृद्धेण नान्यत् खाद्यं मांसाद् विशिष्यते ।

Caraka. Su. 27.86.

² प्राणिनः सर्वभूतानां हृदो मांसरतः परम्

शुद्धतां व्याधिमृद्दतार्तं इवानां धीणरेतसाम् ।

बलवणीर्थिनां चंद्रं रसं विद्याद्यानुतम् ।

सर्वरोगप्रशमनं यथा स्वविहितं रसम् ।

विद्यात् स्वयं बलकरं वयोवृद्धीन्दियापुचाम् ।

व्यायामनित्याः स्त्रीनित्याः मध्यनित्यादत्र ये नराः ।

नित्यं मांसरसाहारा नातुराः स्वनुं दुर्बलाः ।

Caraka. Su. 27. 312-315.

³ तत्र शास्त्रिं पर्दिकमुद्गलावकपिञ्जलएणशशशारभद्रादीयाहारद्वयाणि प्रकृतिलघून्यपि मात्रपेक्षीणिभवन्ति ।

Caraka. Su. V. 4.

⁴ ऐजेवं मृगमांसानां लावः पक्षिणां गोधा विलेशानां रोहितो मत्स्यानां . . . इति प्रकृत्यैव हितमानामाहारविकाराणां प्राधान्यतो द्रव्याणि व्यासतानि भवन्ति ।

Caraka. Su. 25.38.

लावतितिरसारंगं कुरञ्जीकपिञ्जलाः ।

मदुरवर्मिकूर्माश्वचं श्रेष्ठा मांसगणेण्विहृ ।

Susruta. Su. 46.333.

⁵ Caraka. Su. 27. 56, 58.

⁶ Caraka. Su. 6. 11-12.

⁷ मृतं कृद्यां चातिमेधं वृद्धं बालं विषेहंतम् ।

अगोधरमृतम् व्यातपूर्वितमांसमूत्सूजेत् ।

Caraka. Su. 27.311.

Meat soup, prepared with *vija* salt, cumin and asafoetida was considered a pleasant tonic.¹ Flesh was also cooked with fats, curds and sour gruel mixed with some aromatic spices.² Sometimes it was cooked in an oven (*Kandu*) with the powder of black mustard and some fragrant substances.³ Boneless flesh was boiled, and ground on a piece of stone to make a stuffing. Some aromatic spices such as long pepper, black pepper and ginger, *guda* and clarified butter were also added to it before use.⁴ Two varieties of stuffing (*versavata*) one sweet and the other saltish are mentioned.⁵ Seasoned meat, minced meat, meat roasted on spits or charcoal, fried in oil or clarified butter was relished.⁶

¹ प्रीणनः प्राणजननः इवाराकाकाशयापहः।
वातपित्तशमहरो हृद्योर्बासरसः समृद्धः।

Susruta. Su. 46. 359.61.

आप्यायनः संहंतनः शुक्रदो बलवर्धनः।

Susruta. Su. 46. 349.

² हन्तेहृष्टमृदुः कलैः कलैः वैदलास्तेश्च संयुताः।

Susruta. Su. 46. 352.

स्नेहोरेश्चान्याम्लफलाम्लकदुः सह, चिर्द योर्द्धं हितं बल्यरीचनं युहृणं गुरु।

Susruta. Su. 46. 352.

³ पिशिर्त चौरमैलिप्तं कन्दुपववग् मधुप्रभम्।
राजिकाकलकलिप्तं च कन्दुपाचितमृद्यते।

Dalhana on Susruta. Su. 46.356.

⁴ मांसं निरसिष्य गुस्तिक्तं पुनर्द्युषदि प्रेषितम्।
पिष्टीश्चाप्तिष्ठित्यरिष्टगृहसपिःसमनिवातम्।
ऐक्यं पाचयेत् सम्पूर्णं वैतवार इति समृद्धः।

Susruta. Su. 46. 365-66.

⁵ Susruta. Su. 46.364.

⁶ भूर्द्धं बहुपृते चिकर्तं युहुशणाम्बुद्ना मुडु।
जीरकाद्वैतं मांसं परिशुष्कं लदुमृद्यते। तदेवगोरसादानं प्रदिग्द्यमिति श्रुतम्।

Dalhana on Susruta Su. 46 Sl.353

उल्लुप्तं भजितं पिष्टं प्रतपत्तं कन्दुपाचितम्।
परिशुष्कं प्रदिग्द्य च शूल्यं चन्द्रान्यदोदृशम्।
गांसं पर्तैलसिद्धं लद्धं वीर्योर्णं वित्तकृद् गुहः।

Susruta. Su. 46.356-57.

भजितं स्वाद् भूतादी तु पिष्टवा यत्क्षयितं तुनः।

अपूरपादिकृतं पिष्टं दविदातिमसीरमः।

तिद्दं साज्जैस्तापाज्जाजी लामुदमस्तिव्वस्तवा

अज्ञारादिषु यत्पक्वं प्रतादां लदुशाहृतम्।

तिक्तवा तिक्तवान्मुमाराजिः विधूषेऽन्तो प्रतापयेत्

कलाम्लेनापि यत्पक्वं शल्यं तत्त्वौरभान्वितम्।

Dalhana on the above

But daily use of seasoned meat is not recommended.¹ Meat was also cooked with rice, fruits and vegetables.² An omelet made of clarified butter, rice flour and eggs of crocodile was used by those addicted to excessive sexual indulgence.³ Just as in Manu, Yājñavalkya recommends meat diet for maintenance of life and on the occasion of sacrifices for gods or manes.⁴

HONEY AND SWEETS

Honey continued to be widely used and eight varieties of honey are mentioned in the medical works.⁵ Of these the variety collected by small bees (*māksika*) was considered the best and that by big black bees (*bhrāmara*) was considered heavy to digest.⁶ The use of honey was considered particularly useful in the rainy season.⁷

Many varieties of sugarcane are mentioned.⁸ Of these the thin reed variety called *Vamsaka* was considered the best while

¹ वल्लूरं वृक्षशाकानि शालूकानि विसानि च ।

नाम्यकेद् गौरवान्मासं कृशं नैवोपयोजयेत् ।

Caraka, Su. 5.10.

² Caraka Su. 27.266, Susruta, Su. 46.407.

³ तप्ते सर्दियि नक्षाणं ताम्रचूदाण्डभित्रित् ।

युक्तं पष्टिकचूर्णेन सर्पियाऽभिनवेन च ।

पवत्वा पूपलिकां खावेद् वाहनीमण्डपोनरः ।

य इच्छेदववद् गत्वा प्रसेक्तुं गजवच्च यः ।

Caraka, Cikitsa, II, 28-29.

⁴ मतः वृक्षं मासस्य विधि भक्षणवर्जिते ।

प्राणात्यये तथा थादे प्रोक्षितं द्विजकाम्यया ।

देवान् पितृन् समव्यर्थं सादग् मासं न दोषभाक् ।

Yaj. I. 178-79

⁵ The eight varieties are *Māksika*, *Bhrāmara*, *Kṣaudra*, *Pānīka*, *Chātra*, *Ārgbya*, *Andalīka* and *Dāla*.

पौत्रिकं भ्रामरं क्षीद्रं माक्षिकं छात्रमेव च ।

माक्षिकमीदालिकं दालमित्यच्ची मधुजातयः ।

Susruta, Su. 45.133.

⁶ माक्षिकं भ्रामरं क्षीद्रं पौत्रिकं मधुजातयः ।

माक्षिकं प्रवरं तेवा विशेषाद् भ्रामरं गृहः ।

Caraka, Su. 27.242.

⁷ Caraka, Su. 6, Bhela, p. 25.

⁸ पौष्ट्रको भीष्मकस्त्वं वंशकः देवतपोरकः ।

कान्तारस्तापलेभुद्धच काण्डेयः सूर्यिपत्रकः ।

नैपालो दीर्घपत्रस्त नीलपोरोऽय कोशकृत् ।

Susruta, Su. 45. 149-150.

that grown in northern Bengal, called *Paundra*, the next best.¹ The juice of sugarcane extracted by a machine was not considered good.² All the products of sugarcane *phāṣita*, (inspissated juice of sugarcane), *Gūḍa*, red sugar, unrefined white sugar, crystal sugar and sugarcandy were widely used.³ It was believed that these products became cooler and sweeter as their whiteness increased as a result of purifying but became more and more difficult to digest.⁴ Sugar was also prepared with honey, *madhūkā* flowers and a grass called *Yavāda*.⁵ *Matyāṇḍikā* was a variety of sugarcandy, the crystals of which were globular in shape like the eggs of a fish.⁶

Sweets were prepared with wheat flour, milk and inspissated milk by the addition of honey, *gūḍa* or sugar.⁷ Even the

¹ शानूपजोजाङ्गुलियोवरिष्ठः सुनूचिजातो गृह वदन्तः ।

शानूपपौण्ड्रे सुकवचावानामिषुः प्रशस्तस्तु द्वरः परो यः ।

Kasyapa Bhojana 103.

पीष्टुकाद् वंशको वरः ।

Caraka. Su. 27.237.

² यान्त्रिकस्तु विद्युते ।

Caraka. Su. 27.236.

गृहविदाहृजिष्टम्भी यान्त्रिकस्तु प्रकीर्तिः ।

Susruta. Su. 45.158.

³ *Pāṇīta*—Susruta. Su. 45.159.

Gūḍa—Caraka. Su. 27, Susruta. Su. 45.158, Yaj. I. 303. Old *gūḍa* was considered very efficacious as a medicine (Susruta Su. 45.161). A variety of *Gūḍa* called *Kṣudragūḍa* was not considered good. Caraka. Su. 25.

According to Pāṇini the word *gūḍa* is connected with *Gāḍī* region (East Bengal).

Gūḍāśarkarā (red sugar)—Caraka. Su. 27.240.

Sarkarā (crystal sugar)—Caraka. Su. 27.239, Susruta. Su. 45.162.

Khaḍpa (unrefined white sugar)—Caraka. Su. 27.239, Susruta. 45.162.

⁴ यथाक्षेपां वैमल्यं नष्टरत्वं तथा तथा ।

स्नेहीरत्वात्मानि तरत्वं च तथा तथा ।

Susruta. Su. 45.163.

⁵ *Madhūśarkarā*—(sugar prepared from honey)—Susruta. Su. 45.166.

Yavāda Śarkarā—sugar prepared from *Yavāda* (a kind of grass)—Susruta. Su. 45.167.

Madhūkāśarkarā (sugar prepared from *madhūkā* flowers) Susruta. Su. 45.169.

⁶ Caraka. Su. 27.239, Susruta. Su. 45.162.

⁷ *Sāmiśp*—Sweets prepared with powdered wheat flour.

F. D. A. I. Ch. V. p. 137, f. n. 5.

Kūrakṛta bhakṣyāb—sweets prepared with milk—Susruta Su. 46.392.

Kūrakākṛtyāb—Sweets prepared with inspissated milk.

F. D. A. I. Ch. V. p. 140, f. n. 4.

old preparations were made more tasteful by the addition of some new ingredients. In the preparation of *Sanjivā* wheat flour, milk, clarified butter, sugar, cardamom, pepper and ginger were used.¹ *Ghṛtāpūra* was also prepared with these substances but thin pieces of kernel of cocoanut were added to it.² *Madbutīrṣaka* or *Madhu-kroḍa* was a sweet which was prepared with wheat flour but had honey or clarified butter inside.³ *Pūpalikā* was a small cake of rice or wheat flour fried in ghee with *guḍa* inside.⁴ Sometimes a stuffing prepared with *Mudga* pulse was also used.⁵ Another sweet preparation with rice flour, milk, treacle and clarified butter is called *Utkārikā*.⁶ *Vartikā* was a similar sweet preparation in the form of a roll.⁷

Gandika—Sweets prepared with treacle and wheat flour. *Susruta*.
Su. 46.394.

The old sweets such as *modaka*, *pūpa* and *phāṇaka* were in common use. (*Susruta* Su. 46.395-399). *Pupas* were also prepared with milk and sugarcane juice (*Kṣirekṣurasa—pūpākāḥ*).

¹ मधुशीर्षकसंयात्रा: पूपा मे ते विशेषतः:

Susruta. Su. 46.392.

गोधूमसंयिता भृषु दुर्योगे भोदयिता सुकोभनम्
पचेद् धृत्तोत्तरे खण्डे विषेद् भाण्डे नवे ततः।
संयात्रोऽस्त्रे युतश्चूर्णे खण्डैसामर्चिवाद्वक्तैः।

Dalhara.

² मदिताः समिताः क्षीरनलिकेरसितादिभिः।

अग्रवाह्य धृते पक्वो पूतपूरोऽमुत्तमः।

Susruta. Su. 46.393.

गोधूमपटश्चाद्विकां क्षीरेण संबद्य सर्वपक्वा विस्तायं पक्वत्वा सितायुक्तां कुर्याद् दृश्येत्
हविष्पूरः धेवर इतिलोके।

Sri Kanṭhadatta Vṛnda Siddhayoga.

³ *Susruta*. Su. 46. 395.

समिठावेष्टिताः पाकघनीभूताः प्रभूपूतोदराः प्रभुमस्तकाः त एव मधुशीर्षकाः।

Dalhara.

पाकघनीभूतमधुगर्भः गोधूमपिष्टकः वेष्टितः पक्वः रात्रुजर्तिकादि भक्ष्यविशेषः
मधुमस्तकः। अन्येतु गोधूमसंयिता धृतयुक्तां तोर्यं र्मदंयित्वा वृतमपूर्वकृत्वा धृतेन पक्वत्वा सिता-
युक्तं कुर्यादित्येष प्रभुमस्तकः।

Sri Kanṭhadatta Vṛnda Siddhayoga.

⁴ विमर्शं समिताचूर्णं मृकुपाकं गुटान्वितम्।

पूतावगाहे गुटिकां वृतां पनवां सकेशराम्।

सौगन्धिकाभिवासां च कुर्यात्प्रसिद्धां वृषः।

Nala quoted by *Cakrapāṇi*.

⁵ *Mudga Vesavāra*—*Susruta*. Su. 46.399.

⁶ *Utkārikā*—*Caraka*. Ci. 2, *Sweets prepared with milk treacle and ghee*.

⁷ *Vartikā*—*Sweets in the form of a roll*.

Also see *Vigyanā* F. D. A. I. Ch. V. p. 137, f. n. 2.

SALT, SPICES AND CONDIMENTS

Caraka mentions five varieties of salts¹—rock salt, *sauvareal*, *bida*, *andabbida* and sea salt. Suśruta adds some more varieties.² Of all these varieties the rock salt was considered the best.³

A number of spices were used for seasoning but the most common were long pepper, black pepper, ginger, asafoetida, cumin, coriander and cardamom. Some green leaves and fruits were also used in the preparation of various dishes.⁴ The use of onions and garlic is interdicted in the Smṛtis.⁵ Of all the aromatic spices long pepper and dry ginger were regarded the best.⁶

Sour gruel was prepared with cooked rice or barley.⁷ Vinegar was prepared with butter milk mixed with *gṛīḍa* or honey. The mixture was fermented by keeping the pot containing the mixture in a heap of corn.⁸ Dalhaṇa mentions three varieties

¹ सौवर्षतं सैवतं च विडयोद्भिदमेवतः ।

सामदेण सहैतानि पञ्चस्युर्लवणानि च ।

Caraka Su. I. 88-89.

² The additional varieties mentioned by Suśruta are—*Romaka*, *Vāhukaila*, *Sailamālīśakaradbhava*, *Ūjara*, *Gvīka*, *Yavakṣāra*, *Shanjikākṣāra*, *Pākīva* and *Takkapakṣāra*. (Suśruta. Su. 46. 320-322).

³ सैवतं लवणेषु च ।

Suśruta. Su. 46.336.

⁴ Caraka. Su. 27. 164-175, 294-297.

Asafoetida is called *Bābilīka* by Bhela which shows that it was imported from Afghanistan.

⁵ पलाण्डू विहू वराहं च छावाकं चाषकुकुट्टम्

लशुनं गृजनं चैव जन्मद्वा चान्द्राशणं चरेत् ।

Yaj. I. 176.

⁶ Dry ginger is called a *panacea* (*Vishabbeṣaja*) in Caraka. Su. 25.37.

धात्री दात्रिमसम्लेन् पिपली नागरं कटी ।

Suśruta. Su. 46.336.

⁷ Two varieties of sour gruel, one prepared with the husk of cereals (*kujjāmbī*, Suśruta. Su. 45. 213) and the other with grains (*dhānyāmbī*, Suśruta Su. 45.214) were in use. Sour gruel was considered good for sea faring men.

सूत्रदात्रितानान्तरं जनानां सातम्यमुच्छते ।

Suśruta. Su. 45.216.

⁸ पन्मस्तवादिशुचीमाणे तगुडक्षेद्रकाञ्जकन् ।

धात्वरात्री त्रिष्वात्स्य शुक्तं चुक्तं तदुच्छते ।

Cakrapāṇi on Caraka. Su. 27.284.

Cf. Kasyapa. Bhojana 46.

of vinegar prepared from *guḍa*, juice of sugarcane and honey.¹ Vegetables such as radish and gourd were preserved in vinegar.²

A sweet liquid preparation from the juice of sour fruits such as tamarind, rose apple, *Parūsaka* and *citrus medica* was called *Rāga*. Black mustard was used to make it pungent and sugar-candy to sweeten it.³ Jellies prepared with fruit juices were called *Sādavas*.⁴

According to another her interpretation *Rāgasādava* was a preparation of green mango fruit. The fruit was boiled, the skin removed and treacle added to the juice. It was fumigated with oil and dry ginger and some salt and spices were added to it before use.⁵ A preparation of cardds with *Kapittha* and *Cānigeri*, pepper, cumin and some other spices was called *Khadā*,⁶ but when oil, sesamum, and māṣa were added to it, it was called *Kāmbalika*.⁷

OILS AND OILSEEDS

Among the fats used in food Caraka mentions, clarified butter, oils and animal fats, *Vasd* and *Majjā*. He recommends

¹ गुवाम्बुना सत्तेलेन सन्धानं कर्त्त्वं ज्ञजकन्तु यत्
कन्दवाकफलं रुक्तं गुड्यान्तं तदुच्चरो।
रसशुक्रानि इव रसदिहृतानि ने
जम्बूरस्य फलरसं पिण्डीम् लसं द्रुतम्।
मधुभाष्डे विनिशिष्य धान्यराशी । निधापयेत्
अद्यहृण तज्जातरसं मधुशुब्दतमुद्ग्रहतम्।

Dalhaja on Susruta, Su. 45.212.

² Vegetables preserved in v. Inegar were called *Ārata*.
शुक्तमध्यस्थितं मूलकवृज्वाणादि ।

Susruta, Su. 45.211.

³ यितारसंकसिन्धूत्वैः सवृक्षाम्भृत्वैः ।
जम्बूफलरसंरुक्तो रागो राजिकय अन्वितः ।

Kasyapa, Bhojana, 48.

⁴ पाढवस्तु मधुराम्भद्वच्छ्रुतेः ।

Kasyapa, Bhojana, 48.

⁵ वृष्णितन्तु गुडोपेत राहकारफलं न वम् ।
तीतनागरसंयुक्तं विज्ञेयोरागपाठवः ।

Caraka, Su. 27.

⁶ कृपित्यतक्त्वाङ्गेरी मरिचाजाजिचित्रैः ।
सुपचवः खड्यूयोद्यमय कान्वकि होपरः ।
दध्यम्लतवणस्नेहृतिलमादसमन्वितः ।

Nala quoted by Dalhaja.

⁷ दधिमस्तवम्तसिद्धस्तु यूवः कान्वतिकः स्मृतः ।

Susruta, Su. 46.381.

the use of clarified butter in autumn, animal fats in spring and oil in the rainy season. Of all the fats clarified butter was considered the best.¹ Among the oils sesamum oil was regarded as the best medium for cooking or frying but daily use of oils is not recommended.² A number of other seeds are mentioned from which oil was extracted and used in food.³

Caraka appears to have been familiar with the early use of oil by the non-Aryans. He states that by using oils the kings of *Daiyas* conquered old age, remained healthy, did not feel tired and fought bravely in the battles.⁴ But Suśruta does not recommend their excessive use because food articles cooked in oils are difficult to digest.⁵

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

The medical works mention a number of old fruits but add some new varieties and new fruits. *Janāvira* is a new variety of

¹ सर्वप्रसंस्तं वसामज्ज्ञा सर्वस्तेहोत्तमा मताः।

एषु चैवोत्तमं सर्पिः संस्कारत्वानुवर्तनात् ।१११ ३।

सर्पिः शरदि पातव्यं वसामज्ज्ञा च माधवे।

तेऽन् प्रावृद्धिं नाद्युष्णाशीते स्तेहं पिवेत्परः ।१११ ५।

Caraka. Su. 13.13, 18.

² सर्वेषां तंत्रजातानां तिलतेजं विशिष्यते।

Caraka. Su. 13.12.

तित्यानिस्थात्मविधी तिलतेजं पृते वृषः प्रदृढं जीत।

Kasyapa. 17.9.

सर्वं स्फृतित्वं तंत्रेभ्यस्तित्वते च विशिष्यते।

Susruta. Su. 45.130.

³ Bhela mentions *sesamum*, *tripla*, *lauha*, *vibhitaka*, *keti*, *karanda* and *rigguta* among the oilseeds from which oil was extracted.—Bhela. p. 49.

Caraka also mentions *Sesapta* (mustard), *Priyāla*, *Ataśī* (linseed), *Kusumabha* (saflower)—Caraka. Su. 27. 281-90.

तिलः प्रियालानिषुक्षी विभीतकपित्रवाभवेऽप्तमधुकं सर्वपाः।

कुसुमभूतिलालामुखकालसी निकोत्कादोर्वा वारन्जं शिप्रकाः।

Caraka. Su. 13.10.

⁴ तंत्रेषयोवादजरानिर्विकारा नित्यमाः।

मासत्तिवला संच्ये देत्याधिष्ठलवः पुरा।

Caraka. Su. 27.286.

Probably, on account of its exotic nature, Patañjali refers to the belief that a Brāhmaṇa should not sell oil.

तेऽन् न विक्रेतत्वम्

Mahābhāṣya Kielhorn Pt. I. p. 25.

⁵ विद्याहितस्तीमङ्गाता गुरवः कटुपरिकानः।

वण्णा मासत्तदृष्टिलाः पित्तलास्त्वक् प्रयुक्षणाः।

Susruta. Su. 46.406.

jujube besides the old three. Oranges (*nāgaranīga*), *Bhavya* (*Delenia speciosa*) and *Pārāvata* are some of the new fruits. Two varieties of grapes, pomegranates and *Parīṣakas*, one sweet and the other sour are mentioned.¹

Among the best fruits Suśruta mentions pomegranates, *āmalaka* (emblic myrobalan), grapes, dates, *parīṣaka*, *rājādāna*, and *mātāluṅga* (*citrus medica*).² We learn from Yuan Chwang that peaches and peaches were introduced into India by the Chinese in the first century A.D.³ In the Bhārhut railings and the Stūpa of Sāñchi there is a figure of an Indo-Greek king holding a bunch of grapes with a vine leaf attached to it. It indicates that grapes were probably imported from the North West of India.⁴ Some dry fruits such as almonds, walnuts, pistachio were also used.⁵ All fruits discarded and eaten by maggots, over ripe, unseasonal and unripe were avoided.⁶ Bhela especially recommends the use of *āmalaka* and *vibhitaka*.⁷

¹ Caraka. mentions the following fruits:—

Grapes, date, *phalgu*, *parīṣaka*, *bassia-latifolia*, *āmrātaka*, palm fruit, cocoanut, *bilav*, *bilva*, *badara*, *āruka*, *karkandu*, *lakuka*, *pārāvata*, *kālmaryāphala*, *īda* (*mulberry*), *īka*, *kapittha*, *bilva*, *mango*, *jambū*, *sīcīcītak* (apples), *gāigruka*, *karūra*, *bimbi*, *todana*, *ābhīvana*, *panasa* (jack fruit), *mota* (banana), *bbārīphala*, *pīlu*, *trāṇāśraya*, *vīkānkata*, *prācīñāmalaka*, *īngulphala*, *tinduka*, *āmalaka*, *vibhitaka*, *dāfīma* (pome medica), *karī*, *akīṣoja*, *mukē*, *granata*, *vrīkāmla*, *amīlka* (tamarind), *aukavata*, *mātāluṅga* (*citrus* *īra*, *nāgaranīga* (oranges)), *vīśāma* (almond), *abbītūka* (pistachio), *laka*, *nikocaka*, *urumāna*, *śleṣmātaka*, *ānkoja*, *śamīphala*, *karāṇīja*, *aramardaka*, *sārtaka*, *paryatākīphala*, *ākīṣīkīphala*, *ānupaki*, *asvattha*, *ikṣa*, *nyagrodha* and *bballātaka*.

Caraka. Su. 27. 122-62.

C.f. Suśruta. Su. 46, 139, 163, 177, 182, 187, 190-96.

² दार्ढि: माधलकं द्राक्षा खर्जुरं सपृष्टकम्

राजा द्रनं भातुलुङ्गं फलवर्गं प्रवास्यते।

Suśruta. 46.333.

For condiments and jellies prepared from sour fruits please see 'Spices and Condiments' F. D. A. I. Chapter V p. 147.

³ W. letters Vol. I. p. 179. See F. D. A. I. p. 183, f. n. 1.

⁴ C. Inningham—Bhārhut, pp. 32-33.

⁵ G. Sindwedel—Buddhist Art, p. 34, Fig. 10.

⁶ व लामाक्षोदाभिषुक्तिचुलपिचुनिकोषकोरुमाणप्रभूतीनि।

Suśruta. Su. 46.187.

⁷ व शाधितं कृमिजुङ्टं च पाकातीतमकालजम्।

वर्जनीयं फलं सर्वंभवयागतमेव च।

Suśruta. Su. 46. 210.

प्रभुत्वामसकं लादेद् भुवत्वा चापि हरीतकीम्।

परिणामे च भुवतस्य लादेज्जैव विभीतकीम्।

Bhela. p. 13.

A number of vegetables were in use.¹ One is heavier of digestion than the one immediate preceding it in the order of enumeration.² Pot herbs and plants which are found to be rough or putrified as well as those growing in an improper or uncultivated soil or worm-eaten growing out of season were avoided as unfit for use.³ Of the pot herbs *satina*, *vāstuka*, *cūlā*, *citti*, green radish and *jivani* were regarded as the best.⁴ Leaves of mustard were considered to be the worst.⁵ *Papola* (brinjal) were among the good fruits.⁶ Daily use of roots is not recommended probably because they were difficult to digest. Some dry vegetables such as radish were also used.⁷ Soup prepared with the tender leaves of pot herbs was

These included each succeeding leaves of edible or worm-eaten *ongenial* soil or use.⁸ Of the and stalks of lotus stalks of lotus stalks of they were difficult to digest. Some dry vegetables such as radish were also of pot herbs was

¹ Caraka mentions the following vegetables:—

Pāpā, *śupī*, *daṭī*, *vāstuka*, *śūtiṣappaka*, *kākamāṭī*, *rājaka*, *omīlatāṅgī*, *śupīkā*, *śandīya*, *mandūkāparṇī*, *vetrāgra*, *kucī*, *van-*
ta, *avaloyī*, *patola*, *śakulādāni*, *śrapṇīśpa*, *śīrangastī*, *kemb-*
naṭī, *kallīya*, (pea), *gyūbī*, *vārtakī* (brinjal), *śīparṇī*, *kulaka*,
parīpā, *madūparṇī*, *māṣaparṇī*, *pbāṭī*, *citti*, *kutumbaka*, *āluka*, *k-*
puṣpa, *śīmālīpuṣpa*, *kutubdīra*, *śūvaracīla*, *nīṣpāṇa*, *koṇidāra*, *pattūra*,
kuṇḍrāṭīva, *loṣṭaka*, *pālaṅki*, *marīta*, *kalambā*, *nālikā*, *āṣūṭ* (black mustard),
kuṇūmbā, *vrīkḍābāmīka*, *lakṣmīṣa*, *prāpūṇḍā*, *nālinī*, *kātharāka*, *lo-*
hārīmāṇḍa, *avaloyī*, *vāstuka*, *śīlakālīṇī* *trīparṇī*, *pīlūparṇī*.

Leaves of *syagrotha*, *udumbara*, *alvattha*, *plakṣa*, lotus, *vatsi*, *citraka*, *freyati*, *bilvaparṇī*, *bilvapatra*, *bāṇī*, *śatāvarī*, *bāḍī*, *śleṣṭī*, *vapīśpa*, *śīmālīkā*, *śrūḍhāka*, *śīla*, *vetasa*, *puncāṅgī*, *kuṭumbaka*, *śrapṇī*, *śīdāvī*, *śīrbhīta*, *kuṇīmāṇḍa*, *śūtrākūra*, *kelūta*, *kalambā*, *nādiṇīśāka*, *āmī-*
tāla, *pralambā*, *kharījūra*, *śīlātāya*, *tarūṭa*, *śīlūka*, *kuṇūmāḍāna*, *kuṭore*, *atkālādya*, *kuṇūndā*, *nīpala* (stalks, flowers and fruits), *puṣkarabīja*, *śīdārī*, *śīlātāka*,
viddikānda, *omīlākānda*, *śīrīṣa* *śāka*, *pīḍālu*, *ebatāka*.

(Caraka, Su. 27 8. 5-12).

² पुष्पं दर्श फलं नालं कन्द्रादिवाग्रवः क्रमात् ।

Susruta, Su. 46. 23. 36.

³ Suśruta, Su. Śākavarga, 46. 297.

⁴ सतीनो वास्तुकद्युम्नू चिल्ली मूलकपीतिकाः ।

मण्डुकपर्णी जीवन्ती शाकवर्गे प्रशास्यते ।

Suśruta, Su. 46. 334.

⁵ Caraka, Su. 23.

⁶ तिवते पटोलवारीकं भप्ते वृत्तम् व्यते ।

झौर्दं पुगकलं शेषं कषाये सप्तहपकम् ।

Suśruta, Su. 46. 337.

⁷ बल्सूरं शुक्लाकानि शालूकानि विसानि च ।

नाम्यतेद् गौरवान्मासं कृष्णं नैवोपयोजयेत् ।

Caraka, Su. 5.10.

called *kbada*.¹ Another preparation of pot herbs was called *sindāki*. The pot herb was boiled and water squeezed out of it. Then some aromatic spices such as black cumin and black mustard were added to it and cakes formed of it. It was very much liked in *Suhma* country.²

INTOXICATING DRINKS

All the medical works prescribe a limited use of wines and consider this habit good for health, especially in the winter season.³ Caraka regards drinking as pleasing, digestive, nourishing and providing intelligence, if it is indulged in a proper manner.⁴ Excessive use of intoxicating liquors is interdicted, particularly in the summer and rainy seasons.⁵ The *Bhela Sāṁhitā* gives recipes of many beverages which were taken to do away with the effect of excessive drinking. This makes us infer that there were some people who were in the habit of drinking too much.⁶

Intoxicating drinks prepared with barley, rice,⁷ sugar,

¹ सुहमाकपल्लवेन कृतोपूषः स्तुः।

Cakrapāṇi on *Caraka* Su. 13.23

C.f. *Suśruta*. Su. 46.378.

² *Suśruta*. Su. 46.382.

मूलकादि शाकमेव किञ्चित् स्विन्नं क्षुण्णं सुगन्धिकटुकदब्यान्वितं घटकीकृतं सुद्देशं सिण्डाकीत्युच्चरे।

Dalhana on the above.

Suhma—part of *Rādha* country. Districts of Hooghly, Hawrah, Bankura and Bardwan and the eastern portion of Midnapur.

³ वृहणं नेदृशं किञ्चित्प्रथान्नसहितासुरा।

तां तु रक्षो विशेषेण नातिमात्रं समाचरेत्।

Bhela. p. 32.

⁴ स्रोतसां शोधनं जीर्ण दीपनं संघु रोकनम् । १६१।

हर्षणं श्रीणनं दल्पं भयशीकथमापहम् ।

प्रागलभ्य वीर्यं प्रतिभात् तुष्टिपुष्टिबलप्रदम् । १६२।

सात्विकं विधिवद्युक्त्या पीतं स्पादमूत्रम् यथा।

Caraka. Su. 27. 191-193.

⁵ प्रमाणेन पिबेन्नदं भाति तेवेत पण्डितः।

युक्त्यात् सेव्यमानं तत्पानममृतमूच्चरे।

Bhela p. 217.

सुरा रुक्षानां पुष्ट्यर्थमनुपानंविषीयते।

Caraka. Su. 27.323.

⁶ See F. D. A. I. Chapter V. p. 159.

⁷ *Surd* (prepared from barley or rice paste).

सुरा समण्डायवानाम्

Caraka. Su. 27.188.

It was also prepared from *madbhūlikā* variety of wheat. Other varieties of intoxicating drinks prepared from cereals were:—

(a) *Prasannā* (cream of *surd*)—*Susruta*. Su. 45.178.

boiled and unboiled juice of sugarcane, *guda*¹ and *vibhitaka*² were in common use. Sometimes in the preparation of these intoxicating drinks in place of water *surdā* was used and it was called *surdīvara*.³ Liquors were also prepared with *madbhūka* (*Bassia latifolia*) flowers and honey.⁴ Wine was also used.⁵ Suśruta also mentions liquor prepared from dates.⁶ All the varieties mentioned by Kauṭilya were in use in this period. Distilled liquors were also used.⁷

In the *Viśnudharma Sūtra* (c. 100 A.D. to c. 300 A.D.) we come across a prohibition against the use by Brāhmaṇas of ten kinds of intoxicating drinks prepared from *Madbhūka* flowers, sugarcane juice, fruit of *kāpittha*, jujube, dates, jack fruit, grapes, honey, and coconut, the tenth variety being *maireyaka*, the spiced liquor.

(b) *Jagala* (residue of wine)—Caraka, Su. 27.179, Suśruta, Su. 45.180.
 (c) *Bokkara* (solid ingredients of *sura* devoid of liquid)—Suśruta, Su. 45.181.
 (d) *Kobala* (prepared from parched barley flour). Suśruta, Su. 45.180.
 शुरामणः प्रसाता स्पात् ततः कादम्बरी चना।
 तदपि जग्नीजेयो देवको जगलाद् चनः।
 वनकासः हृत्वारः स्पात् सुराबीजं च विषवकयः।

Dravya Guṇa Vijñāna Pt. II, p. 3.

¹ *Sarkardību*, *Sarkarāvara* (prepared from sugar)—Caraka, Su. 27.183, Suśruta, Su. 45.183.

² *Pakṣarasa tiddu* (prepared from boiled juice of sugarcane)—Suśruta, Su. 45.184.

³ *Sūtarasa tiddu* (prepared from unboiled juice of sugarcane)—Suśruta, Su. 45.185.

⁴ *Gṛdharasa* or *Gṛdhasava* (prepared from treacle and flowers of *Madbhūka*)—Caraka, Su. 27.184.

⁵ *Ākṛibhūtīdū* (prepared from the bark of *ākṛi*)—Caraka, Su. 27.184.

⁶ *Surdīvara*—Caraka, Su. 27.185, Suśruta, Su. 45.187.

⁷ *Mādabī*—(prepared from *Madbhūka* flowers)—Caraka, Su. 6.39, 27.185, Suśruta, Su. 45.190.

Madī or *madbhūtīvara* (prepared from honey)—Caraka, Su. 27.187.

⁸ *Mādabī* (prepared from grapes)—Suśruta, Su. 45.172.

⁹ *Khātīvara* (prepared from dates, Suśruta, Su. 45.174). It was also called *Vāraṇī*.

या तात्त्वर्जुरसंरसुता साहि वाहणी।

Dravya Guṇa Vijñāna, II, p. 33

¹⁰ An intoxicating drink in which the solid ingredients predominate is called *ariṣa*, one in which the liquid part predominates is called *āsava* and the liquor in which both are equally important is called *madya* (Suśruta, Su. 45.194).

अव्यप्रधानमरिष्टं इवप्रधान आसवः उभ्यप्रधानमद्यम्।

Dalhara.

It makes us infer that these were the popular drinks with the non-Brahmanical classes.¹

DRINKING WATER AND OTHER BEVERAGES

For drinking purposes the rich, who were accustomed to taking dainties, used pure rain water especially in the rainy season.² Other sources of drinking water were wells, rivers, lakes, tanks, waterfalls and springs. It is laid down that in the rainy season either pure rainwater or boiled well or spring water should be used. In the winter season water from lakes and tanks should be used. Water from waterfalls or wells was used in the spring and summer seasons.³ It was believed that water of rivers flowing towards the west was easily digestible while that of rivers flowing towards the east was considered difficult to digest.⁴

Water having small insects or foul smell, thick, dirty or sticky was considered unfit for drinking,⁵ but dirty water could be purified by mixing it with *kataka*, *gomedaka*, lotus root, *saivālāmula*, pearls or alum and straining it in a piece of cloth.⁶ Hot water was cooled in many ways, by immersing a water pitcher in cool water, by exposing water to currents of cool breeze, by

¹ माधूकमेदावं टाङ्कं कौलं खार्जूरपानसे।
मृद्दीका रस माधीके मंदेयं नात्स्केलवम्।
अमेघानि दशैतानि मधानि ब्राह्मणरथं च।
राजन्यद्वैवर्वेश्यश्च सूर्प्वंतानि न दुष्टाति।

Vishnu Dh. Su. 22.83-84.

² सर्वानुपानेषु वरं वदन्ति मंध्यं यदम्भः शुचिभाजनस्यम्।

Susruta. Su. 46.421.

Pure rain water is called *Ganga* while the impure one is named *sāmudra* (Susruta. Su. 45.7).

C.f. Susruta. Su. 45.3, Caraka. Su. 27.194.

³ तत्र वर्षस्वान्तरिक्षमौद्धिकं वा सेवेत महागुणवात्; शरुदि सर्वं प्रसन्नत्वात्; हेमन्ते गारसं ताडागं वा, वसन्ते कौपं प्रात्सवणं वा, ग्रीष्मेष्वेवं; प्रावृष्टि चौष्ट्यमनभिवृद्धं सर्वं चेति।

Susruta. Su. 45.8.

⁴ तत्रनद्यः परिचनभिमूखाः पद्याः लघूदकत्वात् पूर्वभिमूखास्तु न प्रशस्यन्ते गुरुदकत्वात्।

Susruta. Su. 45.21.

C.f. Caraka. Su. 27.207.

⁵ एच्छलं कृमिलं किलङ्गं पर्णशंबालकर्दमैः।

विवर्णविरसं रान्द्रदुर्गन्धं न हिंतं जलम्।

Caraka. Su. 27. 213-214.

C.f. Kasyapa. p. 358, Susruta. Su. 45. 9-11.

⁶ तत्र सप्त कलूपस्य प्रसादनानि भवन्ति। तदथा कृतक, गोमेदक, विसद्रन्ति, शौवालमूल, वस्त्राणि मुक्ता मणिश्वेति।

Susruta. Su. 45.17.

churning it with a stick, by fanning, by siphoning it by means of a piece of linen, by burying the pitcher underneath a bed of sand and keeping it suspended on a pendent bracket.¹ Five kinds of stands were used for keeping water pots.²

Besides warm and cool water, liquors, soups of cereals, sour gruel and fruit juices, there were some other beverages which were used to aid digestion.³ Two kinds of syrups were prepared from treacle one sweet and the other sour. In the sour syrup the juice of such fruits as grapes and tamarind was used. Sometimes some aromatic spices were added to make it more tasty.⁴ Syrups were also prepared with grapes, *parasaka*, jujube, dates, honey and the juice of sugarcane.⁵

The Bhela Samhitā gives the recipe of a beverage which was very effective in quenching thirst. It was prepared with pounded berries, treacle, black pepper, saffron, cardamom and the juice of *Jati* flowers.⁶ Another syrup was called *Kālmarya-*

¹ सप्ताशीतीकारणानिभवन्ति, तदथा प्रवातस्थापनम् उदकप्रसेपणं, यज्जिकाभ्रामणं, अजनं, वस्त्रोधरणम् दातुका प्रक्षेपणं शिक्षादसम्बन्धेति ।

Susruta. Su. 45.19.

² पञ्चनिक्षेपाणि भवन्ति । तदथा—फलकंञ्चटकं मुञ्जवलयः, उदक मणिका, शिक्ष-ञ्चतेति ।

Susruta. Su. 45.18.

³ शीतोषणोदासव यदयुषं फलाम्ल वान्याम्लवयो रसानाम् ।

यस्वानुपानंतुहितं भवेद्यत्तमै प्रदेयं त्विह मात्रयात् ।

Susruta. Su. 46.419.

मुखेनपाचयत्यज्ञं दोषबत्यपकर्त्तति

प्रनुपानं मनुष्याणां सात्पत्तां च प्रयच्छति ।

Bhela. XVII. p. 17.

⁴ शौद्धमलमनम्नं वा पानकं गृहयूत्तमम् ।

तदेव यण्ठनृदीकाशकरासुहितं पुनः

राम्लं सतीष्वरं सहित्यपानकं स्पानिरत्यवम् ।

Susruta. Su. 46.389.

कपित्वविलवदरदाक्षादिमधूतयैः

फलयुषं फलैरामै जीर्णतीशारनाशनम् ।

Kasyapa. p. 230.46.

⁵ द्राक्षाक्षरं रुक्मोलानां गुणविष्टभ्यानकम्

पर्णवकोणां फौहस्यं यच्चेष्टुविकृतं प्रति ।

Caraka. Su. 27.274.

⁶ ककन्त्यु बदरणां च प्रस्थं कुवलि सुकुटिम् ।

सप्रस्थं गालवंसलोये तत्त्वं कुहवः पुनः पुनः

मूष्यये तत्रवे नाष्टे स्वन्तुगुणं निधायत्तु ।

है च दक्षाद्गुप्तले दर्शकरायाः यत्वं तथा ।

pānaka. It was given to a person who drank excessively.¹

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The authors of our medical works knew the value of cooking articles of food on a slow fire.² Besides the old preparations of cereals, meat, vegetables and fruit they describe some new dishes such as a soup from parched rice, preparations of boiled pulses, or sprouted grains. They also mention some condiments prepared from fruits and vegetables preserved in vinegar. No preparations could be considered good for health unless one knows the properties of various substances and the effect of mixing various substances. For this reason there is a detailed description of these in the medical works. They have a separate section for cooked articles and describe in detail which preparations are easily digestible and which are difficult to digest. Caraka says that spiced soups are more difficult to digest than unspiced ones.³ The same writer states that preparations fried in oil or clarified butter are difficult to digest while those parched without these fats are easily digestible.⁴

सूक्ष्मं च मरिचात्पर्यं चतुर्थं केसरस्य च
त्वक्पूत्रं भरणेष्वेच सूक्ष्मैलाकर्पं मेव च ।
अमृणासाधार्धं च सूक्ष्मचूर्णानि कायेत् ।
जातीरससमोपेतं पानकं पानविभ्रमे ।

Bhela. p. 218.

¹ To make this *pānaka* juices of *kesmarya*, pomegranates, grapes, *madhūka*, and *parīkṣaka* were mixed with the powder of *kusaja*, *madhūka*, *hadra*, *mañjūṣa*, cardamom, pepper and filament of blue lotus and water was added to the mixture.

काश्मर्यं दाढिमं द्राशा मधुकं तरकृष्णकम्
कुटजनिं च संकुच्य प्रक्षिप्तु जलाङ्केत् ।
सूक्ष्मैला मधुकं लोध्रम् मञ्जुष्ठा पिपलीतथा
एतानि सूक्ष्म चूणानिदद्यात्पानं च युक्तिरः ।
केतरं चात्रदातव्यं पुण्यनीलोत्पलस्य च ।
एतत्पानात्पये देये तृष्णार्ढिनिवारणम् ।

Bhela. p. 219.

² मृदुपाकाश्व ये भक्ष्याः स्वूलाश्व कठिनाश्व ये ।
गुरवत्तो व्यतिक्रान्तपाकाः पुष्टिवलप्रदाः ।

Caraka. Su. 27.270.

³ अकृतं रुतयूयं च तनुं सांस्कारिकं रसम् ।
सुपमस्तमनस्त्वं च गुहं विद्याद्यथोत्तरम् ।

Caraka. Su. 27, 257.

⁴ सत्त्वेहाः स्तेहसिद्वाश्व भक्ष्या विविधलक्षणाः
गुरवस्तर्पणा वृत्प्या हृशा गोधूमिका भताः ।

The kitchen was to be clean and uncongested, and cooks reliable. Clarified butter was served in a vessel of iron, beverages like meat soups in a silver vessel, fruits and sweets on leaves, seasoned and fried meat preparations in vessels of gold, all kinds of fruit preparations in vessels of stone, boiled milk in a copper vessel, water, syrups and intoxicating drinks in earthenware and *Rāga*, *Sattaka* and *Sādava* in vessels of glass or precious stones.¹

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

As in the previous period the practice of offering food to gods, forefathers, dogs, crows and extending hospitality to guests was common. Just as in the *Manusmṛti*, children, daughter, newly married girls, pregnant women, guests and servants were fed before the householder and his wife took their meals.² The old practice of cooking a big ox or a big goat for a Vedic scholar is mentioned by *Yājñavalkya*.³ It is possible that the animals may have been let off after being presented to the distinguished guest for slaughter and not actually killed as was suggested in the *Asv. Gr. Su. I.* 24-25.

Purity in food is emphasised as before both in medical works and the *Smṛtis*. They lay down that the place where a person takes his meals should be clean. Food should be served in clean

यस्कायालवदः सन्ति भक्षयाः गोधूमं पैत्यिकाः ।
धानापर्पद्युपादास्तान् बुद्ध्वानिर्दिशेत्युधः ।

Caraka. Su. 27, 266-67.

Susruta. Su. 46.446.

¹ वद्याभ्यतः परं कुरुत्वामाहस्योपकल्पनाम्
पूर्तं काण्डांश्च देवं पेत्रा देवात् राजते ।४४६
कलानि सर्वभक्षयाश्च प्रदद्याहं ददेत् तु
परिचुक्षक्षदिग्धानि सौत्रेण्यै प्रकल्पयेत् ।४५०।
प्रदद्याणि रसाश्वेत् राजतेष्वप्नारयेत् ।
बृद्धवराणि लडाद्वेत् सर्वज्ञेत्वदपयेत् ।४५१।
दद्यात्ताप्रमये पात्रे तुशीतं सुशूतं पयः ।
पानीयं पानकं महं मून्मयेषु प्रदद्यायेत् ।४५२।
काचस्फटिकपत्रेषु शीतलेषु शुभेषु च ।
वद्याद् वैद्यर्थिकनेत् रागवाडवसद्गान् ।४५३।

Susruta. Su. 46 and 450-453.

² *Vishnu. Dh. Su. LXVIII, Yajna, V 102, 103, 108, III.*

³ भद्रोऽसं वा महार्जं वा वौत्रियायोपकल्पयेत् सर्विकायान्वासनं स्वादुभौतनं सूनृतं वचः ।
Yaj. I, 109.

utensils by clean servants.¹ The Smṛtis lay down almost all those rules which Manu has laid for avoiding food having impure substances or offered by undesirable persons. But the list has been amplified, in this period, by the addition of a person who does not perform a sacrifice, a miser, a prisoner, a thief, a cunuch, a person who charges a very high rate of interest.² Of the Sūdras the food offered by a family servant, a cowherd, a family friend, and a family barber could be accepted. Food articles fried in clarified butter could be eaten even if they were kept overnight. Preparations of wheat, barley, or milk could be eaten even if they were not cooked in clarified butter.³

¹ तस्मात्काले सात्म्यं मात्रावदुद्धर्णं स्त्रिगमविरोधं युचिद्वयात्रेषु चिपरिचरेणो-
पनीतं प्राह्मूख्यरूपार्थास्तन्मना भास्त्रादयन्नातिद्रुतं नातिविलम्बितं नाव्युणं नातिशीतं नाति-
रूपं, नातिस्तिर्थं, नातिवहु नातिस्तोकं नातिद्रवम्, नातिशृङ्खम् नाकाशितो न प्रतान्तो नंकरां
वाऽरोग्यायुर्बलार्थी सम्भवनीयात् ।

Kasyapa, Khila, V. 3.

C.f.

उण्मशीयात्, स्त्रिगमसीयात्, मात्रावदशनीयात्, जीर्णदशनीयात्, वीर्याविरुद्धमशनी-
यात् इष्टवेदेष्ट इष्टसर्वोपकरणं चादनीयात् नातिद्रुतमशनीयात्, नातिविलम्बितमशनीयात्, भजल्पद-
हस्तं तन्मना भूत्यीत । भ्रात्मानमभिसमीक्ष्य भूत्यीत सम्भव ।

Caraka, Vimana, I. 30.

² यग्निहीनस्य नान्नमदादानापदि । १६०

कर्दर्यवद्धचौराणा कलीवरंगावतारिणाम् ।

वैणाभिशस्त वार्ष्यं गणिता गणितिणाम् । १६१

चिकित्साकानुरुद्धरुश्चलीमत्त विद्विणाम् ।

कूरोप षतित व्रात्य दामिकोच्छिष्टभोजिनाम् । १६२

अबीरस्त्री स्वर्णकार स्त्रीजित प्रापयाजिनाम् ।

शस्त्रविक्रयं कर्मार तनुवाय इववृत्तिनाम् । १६३

नृथसराज रजक । कृतज्ञ वधजीविनाम् ।

धैत धाव मुराजीव राहोपपति वेशमनाम् । १६४

एपानन्नं न भोजतव्यम् सोमविकायिणस्तथा ।

गौमातां शुकुनोच्छिष्टं पदास्युष्टं च कामतः । १६५

पिण्डान् नूतिनोस्त्वेव तथा चाक्रिक वन्दिनाम् ।

धर्मचित् वृथामांसं केशकोटसमन्वितम् । १६६

शुक्रं पर्युषितोच्छिष्टं इवस्युष्टं पतिरोक्षितम् ।

उदक्षणास्युष्टं संधुष्टं पर्याप्तं च वर्जयेत् । १६७

Yaj. I. 160-167.

³ शूद्रेन्द्रारागोपालकुलभित्रावसूरिणः

भोजादानापित्तस्वैव यश्चात्मानं निवेदयेत् । १६८

अन्नं पर्युषितं भोजयं स्नेहाक्षाचिरसंभृतम् ।

अस्नेहा अपि गोष्मयवगोरसविकितः । १६९

Yaj. I. 168-169.

The Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra lays down that a person should not eat during an eclipse of the moon or of the sun or when a cow, a Brāhmaṇa or a king meets with an accident,¹ nor must he eat bad food nor from a bad dish.²

The practice of washing hands and feet and honouring food was common even in this period.³ It is also laid down that a person should never revile food served to him.⁴ Generally, people took two principal meals and it was considered improper to take a third meal. It is also laid down that a person should avoid the evening meal if he had satiated himself during the day,⁵ and that a person should take a meal only when he felt hungry.⁶ One should never take too much food nor should he be keen to eat the food of others unless invited to do so with respect.⁷ There is a general rule that a person should divide his stomach into four parts. He should fill half the stomach with solid food, one fourth with liquid food and one fourth part he should leave empty for the movement of wind.⁸

Another important rule laid down by our medical works is that food articles should change according to seasons. For winter flesh of certain animals, intoxicating drinks prepared from molasses, preparations of milk, animal fats and new rice are allow-

¹ Viṣṇu. Dharma. Sutra. LXVIII. 1-3.

² Viṣṇu. Dharma. Sutra. LXVIII. 49.

³ Viṣṇu. Dharma. Sutra. LXVIII. 34-35.

⁴ Viṣṇu. Dharma. Sutra. LXVIII. 62.

कुत्सितं कार्ये भृत्यात् वायतो गुर्वनश्यतः ।

आपोवामकियापूर्वं सत्कृत्याप्नमकुत्सितं ।

Yaj. I. 37.

⁵ Viṣṇu. Dharma. Sutra. LXVIII. 48.

कालेशतोऽस्ते स्वदते तुष्टिः पुष्टिश्च वर्धते ।

सुखेन जीवते न स्पुः प्रतान्ताजीर्णवागदः ।

Kasyapa. Khila. V. 11.

⁶ Caraka. Vinaya. I. 30.

⁷ परपाकहृष्टिर्स्वादनिद्वानन्त्रणादृते

वाक्ष्याणिपादचापर्व्यं वर्जयेच्चातिभोजनम् ।

Yaj. I. 112.

मात्राशीस्यात् । भाहूर मात्रा पुनर्दीनवज्जीविणी । यावद्यस्याशनमशिलमनुपहत्य
प्रकृतिं यथाकालं जरो गच्छेदिति तावदस्य मात्राप्रमाणं वेदितर्व्यं भवति ।

Caraka. Sv. V. 2.

⁸ भागद्यमिहाप्तस्य तृतीयमुदकस्य च । ५३

वायोः संचरणार्थं च चतुर्थमवत्तेष्वेत् । ५४

Kasyapa. Khila. V. 13-14.

ed as these things are considered difficult to digest and could be eaten in winter when the digestive system is good. All easily digestible articles are not recommended. In summer all these articles are prohibited and easily digestible articles, such as groats with sugar and water, flesh of wild beasts, milk, clarified butter, and rice could be used. Only a little quantity of diluted liquor is recommended.¹

The medical works also give a list of those articles which they consider easily digestible and which could be used daily and a list of those which should not be used daily. *Saffika* rice, *śāli* rice, *mudga*, rock salt, *āmalaka*, barley, rain water, milk, clarified butter, meat of wild animals and honey could be used daily while preparations of rice meal, rice, *prthuka*, seasoned meat, dry vegetables, tubers and stalks of lotus, and meat of diseased animals were to be avoided. Preparations of inspissated milk, flesh of a pig, cow, a buffalo, fish, curds, barley and *māsa* should not be used daily.²

¹ In the winter season :—

तस्मात् यारसमये स्तिराम्बासलवणान्वसान्
शीदकानुपमो सान्तमिष्यानामुपयोजयेत् । ११
विशेषयानां मांसानि प्रसहनानं भृतानि च ।
भक्षयेन्मदिरां सीधूं मधुं धानुपिवेश्वरः । १२
गोरतानिवृत्तिवसां तेलं नवीदनम् ।
हेमन्ते न्यस्यतस्तोयमुण्डं चायुन्हीयते । १३
वर्जयेदभ्रपानानि लक्ष्मिनि वातलानि च ।
प्रवातं प्रमिताहारमुद्दमन्यं हिमायम् । १४

In the summer season :—

शीतं सशकरं मन्यं जाङ्गलान्मूगपक्षिणः ।
धृतं पयः सशाल्यन्म भजन्तीजे न सीदति । २५
मदमल्पं न वा पेयमयवामुबृदकम् ।
लवणान्त कृद्वानि व्यायामं चात्र वर्जयेत् । २६

Caraka. Su. VI.

² यदिकाङ्गालिमुदगांश्च संन्यवामलके यवान्
आत्मरिक्षं पयः सर्पिर्जिह्वा भवत्त्वाम्यसेत्

Caraka Su. V. 9.

गुह पिण्डमयं तस्मात् तण्डुलात् पृथुकानपि ।
न जातु भुक्तवान् लादेन् मात्रा सादेद् दुभुक्षितः । ६।
वल्लूरं शुक्कशाकानि शालूकानि विसानि च ।
नाम्यसेद् गीरवान्मांसं कृष्णं नैवोपयोजयेत् । ७।
कूचिकाश्च किलाटांश्च शीकरं गव्यं माहिषे ।
मरस्यान्दधि च माणाश्च यवकांश्च न शीलयेत् । ८।

Caraka Su. V. 6-8.

Some other rules are laid down to facilitate digestion. A person should take only that food which suits his temperament. The medical works have, therefore, given a list of food preparations which suit the people of different parts of India.¹ The food taken should be warm, should have some fats, should be nourishing. It should be taken silently, slowly and attentively. The food articles taken should vary, the same dishes should not always be taken.² They have also mentioned preparations which should not be taken together. It is laid down that fish or other meat preparations should not be taken with milk.³ The order of dishes is also mentioned. A person should first take sweet dishes, then acidic, then saltish, then pungent and the rest afterwards. Fruits such as pomegranates should be taken in the beginning, then beverages, then food articles such as boiled rice and confectionery. Lotus stalks, roots and tubers should

पुराणवालयो नुदगमशक्तितिरि वापुकाः।
एवं प्रवार यज्ञान्यद्य तद् द्रव्यं लघु संस्कृतम्।

Bhela, p. 4.

तम्बूलान् पृथुकांश्चापि सर्वान् गिर्वासिललान्।
न लादेद् भुक्तवान् जन्तुः मार्गो सादेद् वृमुकितः।

Bhela, p. 12.

¹ See F. D. A. I. p. 161, f. n. 4 and p. 162, f. n. 1—6.
Caraka, Su. VI. 49. Susruta, Su. 46. 465-467.

² See F. D. A. I. p. 157, f. n. 1.

न चेह रते सेवायो ग्रसत्वेत् कदाचन।
शाकाचरात् भूयिष्ठमस्त्वं च म समाचरेत्।

Susruta, Su. 46. 491.

³ भृत्यपश्चिमिच्चिरोनाम कूले चरति वारिणः।
तं भृत्यं वर्जयेदेकं कुरुषेनाच्यास्तु भक्षयेत्।

स्वानं वर्यात् वैकव यसा विवर्जयेत्
वन्यमूलकाहारं तदिधेन विरुद्धते।
कपोलान् सर्वं भृष्टान् यसा न तु भक्षयेत्

Bhela, p. 21.

C.E. Caraka, Su. 26. 106-122.

विरुद्धं पयसा भृत्या यथा वा गुडमूलकम्।
स्वादजीर्णवान् साम व्युष्टानीर्णे चतुर्विंशते। ६१।
श्वेतवारयशनं लेपयमतिनार्थापयोगतः।
सं... तात्त्वानयोहरत्ती मूलहेतुं प्रचक्षते। ६२।

Kasyapa, Khila V. 61-62.

never be taken at the end of meals.¹

The food suitable for different stages is mentioned in the Dharma Sāstras as before. A student was not permitted to take only one foodgrain for he might get very fond of it nor was he to take meat, wine, vinegar or leavings of food.² The general rules for the householders were the same as in the previous period but the Jains avoided the use of wine, flesh and honey, green ginger, butter, curds and flowers because they contained many germs.³ An ascetic is permitted eight mouthfuls every day⁴ of such food stuffs as leaves, fruits, flowers, vegetables and boiled barley. He is also advised to fast for one day, two days or three days⁵ and drink water strained in a piece of

¹ पूर्वं मधुरमनीयान् मध्येऽमलतरणी रसी । ४६०।
पद्मान्तर्यान् रसान् वैद्योनोजनेष्वचारयेत् ।
आदी फलानि भूज्ञीत दाढिमादीनि वुद्दिमान् । ४६१।
ततः पेयां स्तातो भोज्यान् भक्ष्यांश्चित्प्राप्तस्ततः परम् ।
धनं पूर्वं समरनीयात् केनिदाहुविपर्यम् । ४६२।
प्रादावन्ते च मध्ये च भोजनस्य तु शस्यते ।
निरत्यवं दोष हरं दोषं फलेष्वागतकं नृणाम् । ४६३।
मृजालितुं शालूलकर्णदेव्युभूतीनि च ।
पूर्वं योज्यानि भियजा न तु भुजते कदाचन । ४६४।

Susruta, Su. 46 460-464.

C.f.

स्तिर्गं च पूर्वं मधुरं च भोज्यं मध्ये इवं शीतमयोविचित्रम्
तीर्थणोणं रुहाणिं लदूनि परचाद् भोज्यान् पूर्वाख्यतु सात्प्यतवच्

Kasyapa, Bhojana Kalpa, 34.

आदो तु स्तिर्गमधुरं विचित्रं मध्यतस्थथा ।

रुक्षद्रवावसानं च भूज्यानो नावसीदति ।

Kasyapa, Khila, 5.52-53.

² व्रह्मचर्यं स्थितो नैवमन्नमयादनापदि

ग्राहणः काममनीयान्नाद्ये ग्रतमपीडयन् । ३१।

मधुमासाभ्जनोच्छिष्टं शुचतस्त्री प्राणिहिसनम् ।

भास्करालोकनालसीलपरिवादाश्च वर्जयेत् । ३३।

Yaj. I. 32-33.

C.f. Visnu, Dh. Su. XXVIII, 9-11, 33.

³ मद्यमांसं मधुत्यां: सहाषुद्रतपञ्चकम्

मध्ये मूलगुणानाहुर्गृह्णां धमणोत्तमाः । ६६।

त्रिसहृति परिहरणार्थं क्षीदं निश्चितं प्रमादं परिहृतये ।

मद्यं च वर्जनीयं जिनचरणो दारणमुपचातः । ८४।

अस्पृष्टं फलं वह्नि विधातान् मूलकर्मादाणि शुज्ज्वरेणि ।

नवनीतं निष्वं कुसुमं केतकमित्येवमवृह्यम्

Ratnakaranda Śrāvakācāra III.

⁴ Visnu, Dh. Su. XCIV, 13.

⁵ Visnu, Dh. Su. XCV, 6-12.

cloth.¹ But, a Jain monk was to practise fasting by degrees. First he was to give up solid food, then milk and whey and in the end even spiced water.²

The general rules of etiquette were mostly the same as in the earlier period. A person should eat facing east or south. He should leave some solid food but eat up all the liquid substances such as curds, honey, clarified butter, milk, groats, meat or sweets. He must not eat in the open, nor with his wife, nor standing, nor in the presence of many hungry spectators. He should not eat in an empty house or in a temple. He should not drink water out of his joined hands.³ The practice of listening to sweet music and interesting stories while taking food, which is in accordance with the modern fashion, is also found in the Kāśyapa Saṁhitā.⁴ The practice of chewing betel leaves after meals had, by then, become common.⁵ People generally took some beverage such as

¹ Visnu, Dh. Su. XCVI, 15.

² प्राह्णरं परिहाप्य कमशः स्तिर्वं विवर्धयेत् पानम्
लित्यं च हृषपित्ता खरपानं पूरयेत् कमशः । १२७।
खरपान हृषपानमपिकृत्वा छूलीपावासमपि शक्त्वा।
पञ्जनं पास्त्वा रसमास्त्वन् त्यजेत् तत्त्वपर्यन्ते । १२८।

Ratnakaranda Śrāvakācāra VI.

Bardesanes, a Babylonian writer of C. 200 A.D. gives the following account of the lunch of Indian monks:—

'Prayer over, the bell is again rung and the attendants give each monk a bowl of food for two never eat out of the same dish. The bowl contains rice, but if any one wants a variety of food, vegetables and fruits are added.'

³ Visnu, Dh. Su. LXVIII, 40-47, Yaj. I. 132.

⁴ वीणावेचुस्त्वनोन्मिश्रं गीतं नाट्यमिदिव्यतम् । ५१।
विचिनाश्च कालजप्तवन् भूक्त्वा वर्धयते वत्तम् । ५२।

Kāśyapa Khila, V. 35-36.

⁵ ज्ञाती-कटु-कन्पूगानां लवज्ञस्य फलानि च।
काञ्चोलकफलं पत्रं लान्वूलस्य शुभं तथा।
तथा कर्पूर निर्यासः सूक्ष्मैलाया: फलानि च।

Caraka. Su. V. 73-76.

मद्यं पयस्तक्षमवोद्दीनि चेऽन्तित वाराहमयामि भृत्यान्।

ताम्बूलं पूर्णमधितारं ये स्वः कालोचित्वा यस्य भ्रेत्यत्यन्ता।

Kāśyapa. Bhonjana Kalpa. 39.

ताम्बूलपत्रं तीक्ष्णोद्धरं कटुपित्रप्रकोपवत्तम्।

सुगन्धिष्व विशादं तिक्तं स्वयं आतिक्तकफापहृत्।

ससनं कटुकं पाके कवर्षं वर्णं दीपनम्।

वक्ष्यत्वाण्डूमस्त्रवेदददीर्घन्वादि विशीघ्रनम्।

Susruta. Su. 46. 279-280.

cold or warm water, liquor, a decoction, watery soup, sour gruel or fruit juice. Anyone of these which suited a particular individual and aided his digestive system was used.¹

After drinking a beverage a long walk, a lengthy conversation, singing, sleeping and reading were avoided.² Some people used to smoke a cigar after their meals. The Caraka describes its preparation—a reed was smeared with pastes of sandalwood, nutmeg, cardamom and several other drugs and spices. Then it was dried and the reed removed.³ These practices are not met with in the earlier periods.

धूनेनामोहृय दृच्यर्थं कपायक्तुतिवतकंः
पूर्णकङ्कोलकर्पुरलवज्ज्ञसुमनः फलैः।
फलैः कटु कपायर्थं मुख वैश्वय कारकैः।
ताम्बूलपत्रसहितैः सुगर्वर्वा विचक्षणः।

Susruta. Su. 46. 485-486.

Also see Appendix III.

¹ शीतोष्णतोषाक्षवमच यूप कलान्ल धान्याम्ल पवोरसानाम्।
यस्थानुपानं तु हितं भवेष्टतस्मै प्रदेयं त्विह मात्रयोदत्।

Susruta. Su. 46. 420.

These after potions consisted of cool water, warm water, *Ārasa*, some intoxicating drinks, soups of cereals, fruit juices, sour gruel, milk, or meat soup. These were taken in accordance with a man's temperament and the food articles he had taken.

² मुक्त्वाराजवदासीत यावदद्रवत्यमोगतः।
ततः पाददत्तं गत्वा वामपाश्वेन संविशेत्।
शब्दान् रूपान् रसान् गन्धान् स्पर्शांद्रवमनतः प्रियान्
भूत्वानुपसेषेत तेनान्नं साधु तिष्ठति।

Susruta. 46. 487-488.

शथनं चातनं बातपि नोच्छेष्टापि इवोत्तरम्।
नाम्यातपो न व्यवनं न यानं नापि वाहनम्।

Susruta. 46. 490.

³ हरेणुं प्रियञ्जुं च पृथ्वीकां केशरं नक्षम्।
हीवरं चन्दनं पत्रं त्वगेतोदीर पदम्।
ध्यामकं मधुकं मासी गुग्मुखगुस्तकरम्।
न्यग्रोधिदुम्बराश्वत्यज्ञक्षलोध्रत्वज्ञशुभाः।
वन्यं सजंरसं मुसं शैलेयं कमलोत्पले।
श्रीवेष्टकं शलकां शुक्वहृमधापिच।
पिष्ट्वा लिघ्नेच्छरेयीकां तां वर्ति यवसन्निभाम्।
प्रज्ञुष राशिता कुर्यादिष्टाङ्गलं समाभिषक्।
शुक्कां निरभीं तां वर्ति शूमनेत्रापितं नरः।
स्नेहाक्तामनि संप्लुष्टो रिवेत प्रायोगिर्कीं सुखाम्।

Caraka. Su. V. 18-23.

Please also see Appendix IV and F. D. A. I. p. 197, f. n. 1, 3.

Taboos against the use of meat of unclean animals or un-sanctified meat, onions, mushrooms, garlic, *sigru*, red exudation of trees, and other plants and vegetable growing on unclean ground are met with in the Dharmasāstras of this period as in those of the earlier period.¹ In a Śāddha even preparations of *Rājāmāsa*, *Masūra*, stale food and factitious salt were not to be served. Viṣṇu also prohibits the use of pepper, the onions called *mukundaka*, *Bhāṣṭryna* (a pot herb), *sigru*, mustard seeds, *Nirgundi*, the fruit or leaves of *Sāl* tree, *suvarṇa*, *kūṣmāṇḍa*, the bottle gourd, the egg plant, *pālakya*, *upodakī*, *Tanduliyaka*, safflower, *pindālaka* and the milk of buffaloes.² But the medical works prescribe the use of the flesh of all animals and vegetables including garlic when they regard it as useful for a patient. The Kāśyapa Saṁhitā has a separate section which deals with various uses of garlic and its juice is considered as effective as nectar itself.³ The use of some fragrant substances such as cloves, camphor, *kakkola*, *jātipbala*, with betel leaves is prescribed to do away with its foul smell.⁴

१ पलाण्डु चिह्नं वराहं च छत्राकं भास्मयुक्तुम् ।
लशुनं नृजलं चैव जग्धा चतुर्दशिणं चरेत् ।
भक्षणः पञ्चनसाः सेषामोषा कञ्जुमं शलवानाः ।
शाश्वतं भस्त्र्येष्वपि हि सिंहास्त्रकरोहिताः ।
तथा पार्वीत राजीवं सशलेकाश्वतं द्विजातिषिद्धिः ।
भ्रातः शृणुष्वं मासस्य विष्वं भक्षणवर्जिते ।

वसेत्स वरके ओरे दिलानि पशुरोमर्जिः ।
रामितानि दुराचारो वी हत्याविधिना पचान् ।

Yaj. I. 176-180.

देवतार्थं हृषिः शिशु लोहितान् ग्रामचनांस्तथा ।
अनुपात्तिमांसानि विहजानि फूकानि च ।

Yaj. I. 171.

² Visnu. Dh. Sa. LXXIX. 17-18.
राजभाष्यमस्तूरपूर्वपूर्वितश्चतुर्वर्णानि च ।

Visnu. Dh. Sa. LXXIX. 18.

³ अमृतोद्भूतममृतं लशुनानां रसायनम् ।
दत्तमांसनलक्ष्मये केलाद्यवर्णवयोवलम् ।
न वारु अस्पते यात्तं नणां लशुनकारदिनाम् ।
न पतान्ति स्तनाः स्त्रीणौ नित्यं लशुनचेवनात् ।
न इमं भ्रस्यते चासां न प्रजा न वलायुषी
सौभार्यं वधते चासां दृढं भवति योवतम् ।

Kāśyapa. Laśunakalpa. 18-20.

⁴ तदः कलापचूर्णेन हस्तमूणीदक्षेन च ।
प्रक्षात्प मुखं भास्त्रीच युह प्रावरणीश्चिन्मान् ।
ताम्बूलपत्रं छस्वाकं ? सजातीं कहुकाफलम् ।
धूपं ज्ञाप्यकर्पूरकक्षोत्तकलान्विलम् ।

Kāśyapa Laśunakalpa. 52-53.

Feasts were given, as before, at the time of a Srāddha or other sacrifices. In a Srāddha the Brāhmaṇas were invited on the previous day.¹ The practice of offering meat preparations is considered better than milk preparations or vegetarian dishes, at a Srāddha.² Unhusked or well husked boiled rice, rice cooked with sesamum, preparation of meat and fish, intoxicating drinks, radish, cakes, rice with curds, milk rice, rice mixed with treacle and *modakas* were served at the time of worship of the god Vināyaka.³

We can also have some idea of the food habits of the people in various parts of India. People in the north-west liked such substances as butter milk, vinegar, curds, whey, treacle, grapes, groats, juice of pomegranates, rock salt, tender leaves of *Bhūstrna*, the juice of *Trivrt*, *Vāsaka*, *Kāravṛta*, *Kuṭbera* and *Mātulinga* (*citrus medica*). Other food articles used by them were groats mixed with ginger, clarified butter, *Sādavas*, *rāga*, soups, and beverages including intoxicating drinks.⁴ Bhela says that

¹ निमन्त्रयेत् पूर्वेषु राहिणानात्नवान् शुचिः।

तैश्चापि संयतं भैवं भनो वाक् कान कर्मन्ति।

Yaj. I. 225-226.

² हविष्यानेन वैमासं पायसेन तु वत्सरम्
मात्सव हारिण कौरभ शाकुनञ्जाग पार्वतः।
ऐण रीरव वाराह शावैमांसैर्यथा कम्।
मास वृद्ध्याऽभित्पृष्ठिं दत्तंरिह पितामहाः।
खञ्जामियं महाशलं मद्भुम्न्यप्नेव च।
लोहामियं कालशाकं मांसं वार्धीणतस्य च। २५६
यदाति गयास्थश्च सर्वमानन्त्यमश्नुते।

Yaj. I. 257-260.

Visnu. Dh. Su. LXXX.

The Visnu. Dh. Sa. provides that vessels in which the food is served in a Srāddha should be metallic, preferably made of silver.

Visnu. Dh. Sa. LXXIX. 14-15.

³ कृताकृतं स्तष्टुलांस्त्र एलतौदैनमेव च।
मत्स्यान् पन्नांस्तर्थं बामान् मांस मेतावदेव तु।
पुणं चित्रं सुगन्धं च सुरां च विविधामपि।
मूलकं पूरिकापूरपांस्तर्थं बोण्डेरक सजम्।
दध्यन्नपायसं चैव गुडमियं समोदिकम्।

Yaj. I. 286-288.

तिस रिष्टभिष्मधोदनः एलतौदैनः। भृष्टालोपिकाः पूरिकाः। कुदापूरपास्तूण्डेरकाः।

Aparikā, on Yaj. I. 286-288.

⁴ तुक्रं शुक्रं दधि मस्तुर्गुडं च द्राक्षाः मुरुप्याः सुकृताः सकृदवर्स्त्र।

शीतं हितं दाटिम वारि चार्य स्वात्सैन्धवं भूस्तृणपल्लवादन्।

they were specially fond of meat preparations and liquors.¹ The residents of *Vāblika* country generally used spiced warm food, liquid meat preparation² and beverages such as sour gruel and wines, while those of *Kāmbhoja* were fond of preparations of *masūra*, barley, wheat, sesamum and *uddāla* variety of rice.³ The people of the *Sindhu* country were fond of milk.⁴ The people of the east liked fish, *Sāli* rice, oils, and pungent spices.⁵ The people in the south were fond of tasty sweets, oils, preparations of foodgrains such as *karigu*, *ādhaka*, barley, gram and pea, and roots, tubers and some beverages.⁶ These people liked fish from the river and the sea.⁷ Sour rice gruel is recommended for sea faring men.⁸

तत्त्वानि त्रिवृद् वातक कारवृत्ताद् रुह कुठेरादि तनातुलिङ्गात् ।

स्यादार्दकः सक्तवश्च सापिरिर्लङ्घनं लववः वाहवाश्च ।

भक्ष्यादश्च मस्यादववः सुपक्षाः सूतारगाः पानकं नदयोगाः ।

भ्रतोगुणाद्युक्तिमवेष्यकुर्यात् सात्म्यादवभास्त्रिमयोविधिः ।

Kasyapa. Bhojana Kalpa. 46-4.

¹ प्रतीच्याः मांसकामाः सुराकामाः

Bhela. p. 22.

² वाहिका तीक्ष्णोषणाति अन्नानि, अभिष्वन्दीनि मांसानि, पानकान्यौदकानि च ।

Bhela. p. 22.

Vāblika=Bactria

³ काम्भोजाः भ्रस्त्रयवनोधूभातिलकोहालसेविनः ।

Bhela. p. 22.

Kāmbhoja=region to the east of Kafiristan.

⁴ Caraka. Cikitsa. 30, 317.

⁵ काशीगुण्ड्राज्ञकवज्ञकामान् ससागरानूपकः कौसलेयान् ।

पूर्वं समुद्रं च समाश्रिताये किरातदेश्यानपि पूर्वं शालान् ।

शार्कः समत्स्यामित्र शालि तैलं द्रव्येश्च तीक्ष्णं समुद्रकमेत ।

Pundra—Between Monghyr and *Vāṅga*.

Kasyapa. Bhojanakalpa. 49-50

Cf. Caraka. Cikitsa 30, 317.

प्राच्याः समत्स्यान्न भोजिनो नित्यम् ।

Bhela. p. 22.

⁶ कलिज्ञकान् पट्टनवासिनश्च सदधिणान् वापि च नार्मदेयान् ।

उच्चावचद्वयगुणाश्रिताभिः पेयानिरेतान् समुपकेमत ।

तीसानि कञ्जवाङ्की यावकाश्च मलानि कन्दादचनानाः कलायाः ।

एतानि सात्म्यानि भवन्ति तेषां द्यास्त्रधोणाः परिसिद्धिकाश्च ।

Kasyapa. Bhojanakalpa. 51-52.

Pattanavasina—Inhabitants of *Masūlipattana* and *Viśākhāpattana*.

Nārmadeya—People of *Narmadā* valley.

⁷ नदीतोषगतान् मत्स्यान् भक्षयन्ति समुद्रजान् ।

Bhela. p. 22.

⁸ समुद्रमाश्रितानां च जनानां सात्म्यमुच्यते ।

Susruta. Su. 45 216.

It appears that the rich always used meat preparations and intoxicating drinks as they are invariably prescribed with vegetarian dishes in the medical works for patients.¹ The Jains were so particular about *Abhimsa* that they even avoided all uncooked roots, fruits, leaves, branches, tubers, flowers and seeds in which there was the least possibility of the existence of any living being. For the same reason they did not take their meals at night.²

To conclude, we may say that during this period the food habits of Indians were considerably changed as a result of the influx of foreign elements in society. The authors of medical works made a scientific study of all the food articles then available. So many varieties of rice, fruits and vegetables are not mentioned in any earlier work. Suitable diet for different seasons and people residing in different parts of the country was prescribed. Many new preparations of rice and wheat flour came into use. Tasty soups were prepared not only with pulses but also with fruits and vegetables which were available in abundance. Rules about purity of food appear to have been tightened by the authors of the *Smritis*, but people in the north-western region probably attached little importance to them. They had no objection to taking tabooed articles such as onions and garlic, meat preparations and intoxicating drinks of all kinds were very popular with them. Some new practices such as listening to sweet music at the time of meals are met with in the higher stratum of society and betel chewing seems to have become a common practice throughout the country.

¹ कुकुटाइचमयूराश्च तितिरिकोञ्चवर्तकाः ।
शात्वयो मदिरा सर्पि वातगुल्मभिषण् जितम् ।
हितमृणं द्रवं स्त्रिघं भोजनं वातगुल्मनाम् ।
समग्न्डवाहीपानं पकवं वाषान्वकर्जलम् ।

Caraka. Cikitsa. V.

² मूलफलशाकशास्त्राकरीरक्नदप्रमूनदीजानि ।
नामानि योति सोज्यं रचित विरतो दवा मूर्तिः ।
भ्रमं पानं खाचं लेह्यं नाशनाति यो विभावर्याम् ।
स च रात्रिभूक्ति विरतः सत्वेष्वनुकृन्मानमनाः ।

CHAPTER VI
FOOD AND DRINKS

(C. 300 A.D. To C. 750 A.D.)

The period C. 300 A.D. to C. 750 A.D. was an era of great prosperity in India. The earliest source of information is the *Āngavijjā* which gives a long list of vegetarian preparations in the beginning of the Gupta period. Some information about the food habits of the people can be gleaned from the works of Kālidāsa, the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*. But the first connected account that we have of food during the period comes from Chinese travellers Fahien, Yuan Chwang and Itsing. The medical works of this period the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṃgraha*, the *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya* and the Bower MSS. repeat a good many details given in the medical works of the earlier period but provide some additional information. The *Purāṇas* and the *Smṛtis* also throw some light on the feasts and rules of diet and etiquette during this period.

Food has generally been classified into the four traditional categories¹ but the Chinese travellers divide it into five solid foods, roots, stalks, leaves, flowers and fruits, and five soft foods, boiled rice, *Kulmāṣa*, groats, meat and cakes.² A number of varieties of rice are mentioned³ but the *Kalama* variety of *Sāli*

¹ *Āngavijjā*, p. 178, *Vayu*, 74.31.

² Itsing, p. 43.

C.f. अथ तस्मिन्देव दिवसे द्वितीयेऽप्यनागे चिविधर्स्य सादनीय नोजनीयस्य वर्षं प्रवर्णति । इदमेवं रूपं भोजनम् योद्दनसकतवः कुलमाप मत्स्य मांसम्, इदमेवं रूपं सादनीयम् स्वन्य सादनीयम्, पन्न सादनीयम्, पुष्प सादनीयम्, फलसादनीयम्, तिल सादनीयम्, स्वप्तककर्णा गुड सादनीयम् चिष्ट सादनीयम् ।

Div. 297. 10-14.

³ The *Aṣt. Sam.* VII, 3-12 mentions the following varieties of *Sāli* rice :

Raktaśāli, mahāśāli, kalama, tūṇakṣa, śakunāhṛta, sārāmukha, dirghaśūka, rodhraśūka, sugandhakṣa, pūṇḍra, pūṇḍarīkṣa, pramoda, gauṣa, sārivā, kāficana, mahiṣaśūka, dūṣaka, kusumāñḍakṣa, lāṭīgala, lohavāla, kardama, śītabhūtuka patanīya and tapanīya.

Other varieties of rice described are :

Śaṣṭika, mahāvṛlihi, krṣṇavṛlihi, jāṭumukha, kukkuṭañḍaka, lāvaka, pārāvataka, sūkara, varaka, uddālaka, ujjivala, cīna, śīrada, dardura, gandhana, kuruvṛṇḍa, yavaka, hāyana, pāñstu, vāpya and naiṣadha.

rice, which was grown in Bengal and was transplanted to attain full growth, was largely used.¹ *Sāṣṭika* rice was considered very nourishing,² and *Mahavribhi* variety, which was mostly grown in Magadha was offered to religious persons of distinction and to kings.³ The medical works regard the red variety of *Sāli* rice to be the best.⁴ Rice was taken with curds, milk, clarified butter, molasses or pulses such as *mudga*, *māṣa* and *Kulattha*.⁵ Milk rice was popular but some Brāhmaṇas like the *Vidisaka* in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* were fond of rice with curds.⁶ Besides the old preparations

शास्यः कलमाद्यास्त्वं पष्टिकाद्यास्त्वं पुंस्यमी।

Amar. II. 9.24.

C.f. Angv. p. 164, Ast. Hrd. VI.

¹ वज्जनूत्खाय तरसा नेता नौसाधनोद्धतान्।
निच्छान जयस्तम्भान् गज्जस्तोतात्त्वरेषुसः।
शापदात्प्रणताः कलमा इव ते रथम्।
फलैः संवर्धयामासु दृख्यातप्रतिरोपिताः।

Raghu. IV. 36-37.

C.F. Kaśpūrāmañjarī I. 19, Kisata. IV Mrch. IV. p. 232.

² माधसूरसहितेन सर्पिणा पष्टिकीदनमदिति ये नराः।
थीरम्पन्नुपिबन्ति तामु ते शर्वंरीपु मदनेन दोरते।

Bṛhat. 76.8.

पष्टिको वीहितु श्रेष्ठो गोरक्षासित्यगीरतः।

Ast. Sam. VII. 10.

गुडोदनं पायसं च हविष्यं थीर पष्टिकम्।
दध्योदनं हविष्यून् भासं चित्राक्षमेव च।

Yaj. I. 303-304.

From Śīvara's commentary on Jaimini's *Mimāṃsā Sūtra*. I. 3.1 it appears that parched *sāṣṭika* rice was eaten with milk and parched *sāli* rice was eaten with milk. Rice cooked with *mudga* pulse is also recommended.

³ Beal Si-yu-ki. II. 82.

⁴ शूकर्जेषु वरस्त्वा रक्तस्तृष्णात्रिदोपहा।
महास्तस्यान् कलमस्तं चाप्यन् ततः परे।

Ast. Sam. VII. 7.

⁵ पायसो परमण्णति दधितादो विलेपिको
दधिकूर दुद्धकूर घतसात्तवकूरको। १३६।
गुलकूरको तित्वा वूया भ्रंडवा पत्तकूरको।
कुलत्पकूरको वर्ति मुग्नासोदणोत्तित्वा। १३७।
अतिकूर तेलकरोति भूतकूरोत्तित्वावदे।
जरस वणस्त जो मिस्ता तण्मामो कूर एवहो। १३८।

Angv. p. 64.

सद्धना कलमोदनेन प्रलोभिता न भद्रायन्ति वायसा बँल सुधारसस्य सवर्णंतया।

Mrch. Act IV, p. 181. Calcutta 1938

C.f. Ragh. IX. 42, IV. 37, Kumar. V. 47. Matsya. 268. 6-30.

⁶ दधिभक्त पूर्खिदरो व्राह्मण इव।

Mrch. IV, p. 241.

of rice a new one was *utkārikā*. A variety of this cake prepared with rice flour and milk and clarified butter of a goat with some medicines was considered aphrodisiac.¹ Itsing prescribes boiled rice and well boiled lentil water for a convelescent person.² Rice was the staple food of the people in the south.³ The foresters used some inferior varieties of rice such as *karigu*, *nlvāra*, *kodrava* and *syāmāka*.⁴ People also seem to be fond of eating sweet parched rice.⁵

Two varieties of barley, one superior and the other inferior⁶ and two those of wheat called *Nandimukhi* and *Madhūlikā* were used. Itsing noted that wheat was abundant in the western

¹ *Saykuli*—*Matsya*, 268, 6-30.

Pṛthuka—*Vayu*, 80.47, *Amar.* II, 9.47.

Kṛṣṇa—*Matsya*, 268, 6-30.

तिलाशवगन्धा कृष्णिष्ठ गूर्जैविदारिकापिट्कपिष्ठ योगः।

आजेन पिष्ठः पवसा घृतेन पवदं भवेत्तुष्टुलिकातिवृद्ध्या।

Bṛhat. Sam. 76.9.

C.f. *Div.* 500.23.

Cooked rice from which water was not strained was called *Caru* (*Śabarā* on *Jaim.* X, 1.42).

² Itsing, p. 135.

³ A history of South India p. 191, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri.

⁴ नीवारीदनमण्डमृण्मधुरं सद्धः प्रसूताः प्रिया।

Uttaracarita, IV.1.

प्रियङ्गवः कोद्रवाश्च निष्पावाश्चाति शोभनाः।

Mārkaṇḍeya, Pu. 29.10.

मुगादवन्वा कोद्रवा जत शाली कहं सो गावेत तत्व भाली।

सिरीखण्ड कप्पूर एसाइ दिद्रा मुहातिद्धि पोफ्ला जेणदिन्ना।

Bhavi. 20.3.

कल्पु कोद्रव नीवार श्यामकादि हिर्म लभु।

तृणधान्यं पवनहत्तलेखनं कफरित्तहृत्।

Ast. Hr. VI, 11-12.

The following inferior grains are mentioned in *Ast.*, *Sam.*, *Su.* VII.

14-16 :

Karigu, *kodrava*, *jūrṇāhvā*, *garmūti*, *cūrṇapādikā*, *syāmāka*, *toyaśyāmāka*, *śibira*, *śisira*, *dārunivīra*, *bsrukūbaraka*, *utkāṣṭa*, *madhūlikā*, *śāntanu*, *sāṇḍi*, *veṇuparṇi*, *prāśāntikā*, *gavedhukā*, *andalauhitya*, *todaparṇi* and *mukundaka*.

⁷ ताजान् पष्टुतान् दद्यात् तत्तून् शक्रंसासह।

Kurma, XX.

C.f. *Matsya*, 268, 6-30.

ताजान् विवेण संयोज्य पष्टुतेति त्रिलोभिता।

देवीतु कामीराजेन्द्रनिजधान रहोगतम्।

Kamandaka, VII, 52.

⁸ *Apuyava* (inferior variety of barley) *Ast.*, *Sam.*, *Su.* VII, 19.

Vegayava (Bamboo seeds) were also used as an article of food. *Ast.*, *Sam.*, *Su.* VII, 21.

parts of India,¹ but it is still mentioned among the inferior cereals by the authors of the medical works.² All the old preparations of barley and wheat were in use but *yavāgū* seems to be very popular.³ Some new preparations such as *vitānaka*, *polikā*, *istaka*, and *locikā* are mentioned.⁴ As before groats were taken

¹ *Nandimukhi* (thin and long variety of wheat)—Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 22. *Madbhūlikā* variety of wheat was considered more wholesome. Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 14-16, Itsing, p. 45.

But the Vayu Purana (Ch. VIII. 133-54) mentions rice, barley, *māsa*, wheat, *āru*, *sesamum*, *Priyāgnī*, and *Kulettba* among the cultivated grains and *Syāmāka*, *nīvāra*, *jartīla*, *gavēbukā*, *kuruvrṇā*, *veṇyava* and *markiṭaka* among the uncultivated grains. *Udāra*, *koradūsa*, *cīnaka*, *mudga*, *masūra*, *nīspāva*, *āḍbaki*, *gram* and *sāra* were not regarded as sacred grains.

C.f.

त्रीहृष्टच वरादधैव गोधूमा भणवस्तिलाः।
प्रिवज्ञवेत्तुदाराश्च कोरदूषाः सचीनकाः १२१।
मादा मुदगा भसूराश्च निष्पावाः सकुलत्यकाः।
आदक्षयन्त्रकाश्च शण संपतदशाः १२२।
इत्येता भोपधीनां तु आम्याणां जातवो मुने।
शोषध्योषजियाश्च आम्यारण्याच्छुदशा १२३।
त्रीहृष्टः सप्तवा मादा गोधूमा भणवस्तिलाः।
प्रिवज्ञु सप्तमाद्येता अष्टमास्तु कुलत्यकाः १२४।
द्यामाकास्त्वय नीवाराज्ञतिलाः सगवेषुकाः।
तथा वेनु यदा प्रोक्तास्तद्दृन् मर्वटका मुने १२५।
आम्यारण्यास्मृतादेता भोपध्यशर्तुदश।

Visṇu. Pu. I. 6, 21-26.

² See F.D.A.I. p. 170 f. n. 4.

³ The Angv. (p. 181) mentions *yamīgū* mixed with clarified butter, oil or vinegar.

C.f. अन्त रसक यूपमन्त यवागूँ भ्रष्टमांसोपदंशानि पानकाति चूतफलानि शुक्रमांस मातुलुङ्घचक्रकाणिशकंराणि च यथादेशसात्म्यं च चयकहस्तः पायवेत्।

Kāma. 174. 15-17.

Dhānāb—Kurma. II. 17, Amara. II. 9.47.

Sakūn—The groats of jujube were also used. Ast. Sam. VII.

Karambha—Amara. II. 9.49, Vayu. 80.47.

Sadyāva—Kurma. II. 17.

Apūpa—Kurma. II. 17, Amar. II. 9.47.

For other preparations of wheat see F.D.A.I. p. 179.

⁴ *Vitānaka*—Matsya. 268. 6-30.

Polikā—Ibid.

Purikā—Ibid.

Istaka—Vayu. 80.47.

भद्रानवध्ये करम्भूल दृष्टका धूतपूर्ण।

कृष्णं पथु सर्पित्वं पवः पायसमेव च।

Vayu. 80.47.

Locikī—a kind of delicious sweet preparation.

Svastika—Ast. Sam. Su. VIII. 94. See F.D.A.I. p. 137, f. n. 3.

in the liquid form as also when they were prepared in a thick consistency.¹ People often took groats with them when proceeding on a journey.² *Jurnāhu* (Holcus Sorghum) is also mentioned among the inferior foodgrains of this period.³ The use of pulses with clarified butter is recommended.⁴ Of all the pulses *mudga*, especially the green variety, was considered the best.⁵ Daily use of *māṣa* is not considered good on medical grounds as it is difficult to digest.⁶ *Kulattha* was widely used.⁷ Gram was also used for horses.⁸ The use of *Rājāmāṣa*, *masūra*, *nispāva* and gram is interdicted in a Srāddha by the authors of the Purāṇas.⁹ *Mudga* was also used in preparing a stuffing (*vesavāra*) called *Pūrana*.¹⁰

१ तिव्यात्कठिना गुर्वीं प्रोक्ता पिण्डि मृदुर्लघुः।
सकूतां इवता योगालच्छीयस्यवलेहिका ।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 61.

² Harṣacarita, p. 217.

³ See F.D.A.I. p. 170. f. n. 4. It is called *śāmaṇḍla* in *Tiloya panḍati*.
See History of Jondhāla by Dr. P.K. Gode in B.C. Law Commemoration Volume I. p. 145-158.

४ गधुरः शीतका गुर्वीं वस्त्रयो रक्षणातिमः।
स्नेहादया अस्तिभिर्मौज्या विविधादिभिर्जातयः।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 33-34.

५ सूप्यानामृतमा मुदगा लघीयांसोज्ज्वल मास्ता:।
हृतितास्तेष्वपिवरा:।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 26.

६ भाष्वनिष्पाव शालूक विस पिष्ट विष्टदक्म्।
शुक्कशाकानि यवकान् फाणितं च न शीतयेत्।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 41.

७ कृत्यतिल भाषाम्न घृतं तंसामिवोदनः।
वर्हितितिर इक्षाणां रसः राष्योदशादिर्मः।
सर्वगुविडमृद्धीकामातुलुज्जरसाद्रक्षः।
कुलत्यशाडिभाजानी शुक्कमूलक संयुतः।
यत्र गोधूम शाल्यन्नं स्तिर्घमुष्णं च भोजयेत्।

Bower. MSS. 2.14.

⁸ Amarasiṁha calls gram—the food of the horses (*harimantaka*, II. 9-11). Rice cooked with gram is mentioned—*Matsya*. 268, 6-30.

९ देष्याणि संप्रवस्यामि श्रादे वर्ज्यानि यानि तु।
नमूरशाणनिष्पावराजमाप्यकुमुष्मिकाः।
कोद्रवोदारचणकाः कपित्वा मद्यकातसीः।

Matsya. 15.36-38.

C.F. Mārkaṇḍeya. Pu. 29.11.

¹⁰ वेसवारो गृहः स्तिर्घो वलोपचयवर्धनः।
मुद्दमादिजास्तुगुरुवो यदाद्रव्य गुणानुगः।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

Pulses were used in saline preparations such as *yūṣas*, *māṇḍa* and *parpāṭas*.¹ Sprouted food grains were also used in food preparations.²

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Milk continued to be the favourite beverage in India.³ Even in the South the Brāhmaṇas used to domesticate milk yielding cows.⁴ Milk is recommended as a suitable diet for the convalescent, the old, children and ascetics.⁵ Both Yuan Chwang and Itsing noted that milk and its products were available everywhere.⁶ Milk of cows was considered the best.⁷ Other animals, whose milk was used, were buffaloes, goats, elephants, sheep, mares, camels and women.⁸ Overboiled milk was considered difficult to digest while fresh milk, which was still warm, was considered as wholesome as nectar itself.⁹ Milk rice continued

¹ *Yūṣa* (soup of pulses)—Kāma Sūtra. 174. 15-17, Bharata. III. 36-39, Angv. p. 179, Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

Māṇḍa—juice of cereals was considered a light food.

नीवारोद्दिनमण्डमूष्ण भधुरं सद्यः प्रसूताप्रिवा।

Uttaracarita. IV. 1.

C.f. Amara. II. 9.49.

Parpāṭa—Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

² Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

³ Beal Si-yu-ki p. 88, Angv. p. 181, Raghu. II. 63, Kurma. 22, Vayu. 78.17, Visnu. III. 16.11.

⁴ A History of South India, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, p. 190.

⁵ व्याघ्रीवधाव्यमाव्यस्तीलद्वचनातपकर्मभिः।

दीर्घे वृद्धे च बाले च पद्यः पद्यं यथा मृतम्।

Ast. Hrd. VIII. 50.

C.f. Vayu. 16.13.

⁶ Beal Vol. I, p. 88, Watters Vol. I. p. 178. Itsing. p. 44.

⁷ गव्यं स्नेहोत्तमं क्षीरं गव्याच्च एयसः पद्यः।

यथोत्तरं स्नेहीनमीरभ्रच्छागमाहिषम्।

Khāraṇāda.

प्रायः पद्योऽत्र गव्यं तु जीवनीयं रसायनम्।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 54.

⁸ गव्यं माहिषमाजं च कारमं स्वैर्णमाविकम्।

ऐभवंकशफं चेति क्षीरमव्यविषंस्मृतम्।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 52-53.

C.f. Vayu. 78.17.

⁹ भवेद्गरीयोत्तिशृतं धारोणममृतोपमम्।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 62.

C.f. Ast. Hrd. Su. V. 29.

to be popular¹ and beatings were avoided as before.² Curds were taken pure, with rice, with groats and with treacle.³ Curds when mixed with water in the ratio of 3 : 1 were called *Takra*, when they were mixed in equal quantities the mixture was called *Udasvit* and curds churned without water were called *Mathita*.⁴ *Sikbariṇī* continued to be popular as before.⁵ A mixture of warm milk and curds, cream of curds and butter milk were also used.⁶

Fresh butter, butter prepared from the previous day's milk and clarified butter were widely used.⁷ Yuan Chwang states that milk and butter formed important food articles of the students at the University of Nālandā.⁸ Some people were excessively fond of butter. *Urvaśi* is said to have lived on butter alone.⁹

¹ Amar. II. 7.24.

² Ast. Sam. Su. VI, Amar. II. 9.54.

³ *Dadbi* (curds)—Angv. p. 181, Kurma. 22, Matsya. 217, Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

Dadbisaku (curds with groats)—Angv. 220.

Daddyodana (rice mixed with curds)—Mrch. VII.

Gudadadbi (curds with treacle)—Angv. p. 220.

⁴ *Takra*—Matsya. 217, Vayu. 16.13, Amar. II. 9.53, Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

Udasvit—Amar. II. 9.53, Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

Mathita—Amar. II. 9.53.

Tropiyam—Angv. p. 220, Amar. II. 9.51.

⁵ *Rasīdī*—Angv. p. 220, Amar. II. 9.44, Vikramorvāsiya. p. 72 (III. 86).

⁶ तप्तेपयसि दध्यानयति सा वैश्वदेवी शामिका वाजिम्यो वाजिनम्।

Sabara on II. 2.23.

शामिका साशृङ्गोणे या क्षीरे स्पादिष्योगतः।

Amar. II. 7.23.

Dadbiṣara (cream of curds)

दधिकारं परिलुभ्यायाः मार्जारिकायाः।

March. Act I. p. 47 Calcutta, 1938.

Dadbiṣata (butter milk)—Amar. II. 9. 53.

⁷ *Navanīta* (fresh butter) Malavikgnimitra. p. 57, Angv. p. 182, Amar. II. 9.51, Matsya 217, Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

Haiyamīgarīna (Butter of yesterday's milk)—Raghu. I. 4.5, Amar. II. 9.51.

Gṛīta—Angv. p. 182, Kurma. 22, Amar. II. 9.51, Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

⁸ *Beal. Si-yu-ki.* Vol. I. p. 88.

⁹ घृतमात्रं तथाहार।

Vayu. 91.11.

Clarified butter was considered a germicide¹ and a mixture of clarified butter and curds was also used as food.² Besides the milk products mentioned in the earlier period Vāgbhata I mentions *Kṣirāśaka*, *Dadbikūrcikā* and *Takrapīṇḍaka*.³

MEAT DIET

Side by side with vegetarian diet meat diet was also in vogue. A slaughter house and a butcher boy are mentioned.⁴ A piece of meat being roasted on charcoal seems to be a common sight.⁵ At irregular hours a meal consisting of meat roasted on spits seems to be common among the Kṣatriyas.⁶ Meat and fish formed part of the daily diet of the royal families.⁷ Flesh of various animals was served to Brāhmaṇas at Śrāddhas.⁸ The

¹ अश्वादिजानां सत्वानां रसजानां च सर्वशः
फल दुष्प्रोद्गतानां च वृत्तप्राप्तो विशोषनम्।

Matsya. 227.39.

² पृष्ठदात्र्यं सदध्यात्ये।

Amara. Vaisya.

Originally 'prāḍḍīya' denoted a mixture of curds and minute globules of butter. See Ch. II. p. 14, f. n. 5.

³ The solid part of curds when water has oozed out was called *Takrapīṇḍaka*—Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 78-79, Ast. Hrd. Su. V.

Kṣirāśaka—Ibid.

Dadbikūrcikā—Ibid.

⁴ भवनाति सूनोपरि चर्विहङ्गम् इव मामिषलौलपो।

Malavika. II. p. 36.

अथमपर दृष्टपशुदरपेशि धावति रूपिदारकः।

Mech. IV. p. 237.

⁵ अङ्गारराशिपतितमिव मांसस्तम्भम्।

Mrch. p. 98.

⁶ भनियतवेलं शूल्यमांसं भूयिष्ठमाहारोग्नुज्यते।

Sakuntala. II.

⁷ मासेन तिक्तान्तेन भक्तं शाकेन सूपेन समस्यतेन।

Mrch. X. 29, p. 545.

अच्छरसक दूषमन्त्यवाग्नूभृष्टमांसोपदंशानि पानकानि शूलकतानि शुक्रमांसं पापयेत्।

Kamasutra. 174.15-17.

क्षीरसाल्पन्नभुक्स्यात् क्षीराग्न्या जांगलानां रसवा हृदयैः।

Bower MSS. I. 24.

क्रीडरक्तव्यादारच्छागदावकप्रकटितपशुबन्धप्रबन्धानि।

Harsa. p. 45.

महानसोपकरणवाहिभित्त्वा बद्धराहवार्धीणसैलंभमानहरिणचटुकचटकगृह जटिलं
शिशुशक्तिकापत्रवेत्राग्रसंद्राहिभिः।

Harsa. VII. 211.

⁸ Vayu. 82, Matsya. 16, 17.29-36, Kurma. 20.

Kürma Purāṇa goes to the extent of saying that one who does not take flesh in a Srāddha is born again and again as an animal.¹ Brhaspati lays down that only those women whose husbands are away should refrain from meat diet. It expressly permits meat eating in the case of sick persons.² In South India also meat dishes were popular in royal courts.³

Flesh of five toed animals, fish with scales, deer, peacocks, partridges, *kapitījala*, *vārdbrīṇasa*, *dvīpi*, fish called *rājive*, *simbaturīḍa*, *pāthīna* and *robīta*, goats, hares, gazelle and birds was eaten.⁴ People generally avoided the meat of oxen, asses, elephants, horses, pigs, dogs, foxes, lions, monkeys, frogs, bears and apes. Those who ate the flesh of prohibited animals were looked down upon in society.⁵ In the middle country (*Madhyadesa*) the peafowl was considered a delicacy,⁶ and artisans were beef eaters.⁷

Some uncivilized people relished meat diet. It is said that the strong smell of flesh made the people residing in the Vindhya region joyous.⁸ A Sabara youngman presented a partridge to Harṣa probably because they prized its flesh very much as an article of food.⁹

¹ योनाक्षानाति द्विजो मांसम् नियुक्तः पितृकर्मणि ।
सप्तेत्य पशुतां याति संभवानेकविश्वातिन् ।

Kürma. 22.

² Brhaspatismrti. 25. 13. p. 194.

³ Pozunar. II. 84-93, 102-121.

⁴ भृष्यापङ्चनक्षा नित्यं मनुराह प्रजापतिः ।
मत्स्यान् सशल्कान् भूङ्गीवान्मांसं रीरवमेव च ।
निवेद्यदेवताभ्यस्तु ज्ञाहाणेभ्यस्तु नान्यथा ।
मधूरनितिरङ्गचंद्रं कपिङ्गलकमेव च ।
वाप्रीणसन्दीपिनञ्चवै भवयानाह प्रजापतिः ।
राजीवान् लिहतुङ्गाश्च तथा पाठीनरोहिणी ।

Kürma. 22.

⁵ Beal Si-yu-ki. p. 89.

⁶ See Buddhaghosa's Sāratthappakāśani, his commentary on Saṃyutacā Nikāya.

⁷ मध्यदेशे कर्मकरा: शिल्पिनश्च गवाशिनः । १२८ ।
मत्स्यादाश्च नरा: पूर्वे व्यभिचाररताः स्त्रियः ।
उत्तरे मध्या नायाः स्वस्या नृणां रजस्वलाः । १२९ ।

Brhaspati. Sm. I. 128-29.

⁸ उम्हाल कुयूल मुहुच्चरन्त रथं फरसमेयगन्धाइः ।
ग्रासार जडे दिवहेणदन्ति कुट्टम्बि गेहाइः ।

Gaudavaho. 377.

⁹ Harsacarita, p. 232.

Meat cooked with rice, meat soup prepared with ghee or oil and some spices, meat roasted on spits or charcoal, seasoned meat, were all used.¹ Boneless meat ground after boiling and mixed with spices was used as a stuffing.² A soup prepared with some meat and spices such as dry ginger was called *Dakalāvanika*.³ An acidic gruel cooked with meat and an extract of meat were also used as food articles.⁴

But there seems to have been a good deal of feeling among some sections of society against the slaughter of animals. Fahien states that killing of animals was unknown throughout Madhya-deśa. There were no butchers' shops in the markets. Only the Cāṇḍālas sold flesh outside the city.⁵ It may have been that Fahien saw everything with Buddhist glasses. But the author of *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (prior to 443 A.D.) states that the Buddha himself declared all kinds of meat uneatable for many reasons.⁶ That the Buddhists of the period were against meat diet can be seen also from the example of Harṣa who prohibited

¹ *Pisitandana* or *mārkandana* (meat cooked with rice)—*Matsya*, 268, 6-30
C.f.

शालीनामोदनं भुन्त्वा शुचिमासोपसेवितम् ।
भुज्जानो शुल्ककुल्मापान् कर्त्तव्ये परित्यजेत् ।

Div. 559.1.

² *Māṁsarasa* (meat soup)—*Mrch.* VIII. 14, X. 29, *Ast.* *Sam.* *Su.* VII.
39-46 *Amar.* II. 9. 45.

Sūlyamāṁsa (roasted on spits)—*Śakuntala* II., *Amar.* II. 9.45.

Angarāśī patita māṁsa kbandam—*Mrch.* p. 98

Ballāra or *sukta māṁsa* (Seasoned meat)—*Ang.* 64, *Kāmasūtra*, 174-15.

³ *Vesapāra* (stuffing)—*Ast.* *Hrd.* *Cikitsa* I.
निरस्त्वं पित्तितं मांसं स्त्वन्नं गुड्यान्वितम् कृष्णा भरित्वा संयुक्तं वेसवारं उद्दुव्यते ।

⁴ *Dakalāvanika* (a kind of meat soup)—
स्वल्पेन मासेन स्वल्पेन गुप्त्यादिभिः क्रियन्ते स्वच्छाः ते रतादयः दकलावणिकाः ।

⁵ *Amlojapāgu* (acidic gruel)—*Kama Sutra*, 174-15.

Accubarasaka yūṣam (extract of meat)—*Ibid.*

⁶ *Legge*, p. 43.

⁷ The reasons given are:

1. The animal whose flesh is eaten may have been one's intimate relation.
2. Butchers sometimes bring flesh of unclean animals like dogs.
3. A non-vegetarian sees horrible dreams.
4. Flesh is produced from the semen of a male and the blood of a female hence it is impure.
5. Meat eating causes obstruction in the acquisition of learning.
6. A meat eater is deprived of learning.
7. Meat eating is the characteristic of an *Anārya* (uncultured person).
8. The Buddhist teachings are looked down upon if *Śramaṇas* take meat diet. See A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XX. parts III and IV.

taking of life under severe penalties and caused the use of flesh as food to cease throughout the five Indies.¹

A considerable section of Hindu society at that time did not look on meat diet with approval. Even the *Kāmasūtra*, which does not represent the views of religious authorities, states that to desist from eating meat was considered an act of merit.² *Bhavabhūti* pokes fun at the ancient custom of serving beef to a distinguished guest,³ and a copperplate inscription dated 465 A.D. clearly shows that the slayer of a cow was considered guilty of a heinous crime.⁴ The *Vāyu Purāṇa* in the same strain declares that slaughter of animals is not proper for sacrifices and one should perform sacrifices with cereals.⁵ Itsing also states that even laymen rarely have the taste of grease or flesh.⁶

HONEY AND SWEETS

The four varieties of honey mentioned in the medical works of the earlier period continued to be used in the reception of guests and other festive rites.⁷ But all the products of sugar-cane were widely used as sweetening ingredients in the food preparations.⁸ Of these *Sarkarā* was considered the best and

¹ Watters. *Yuan Chwang* Part. I. p. 344.

² प्रवृत्तेभवत्त्वं मात्साभक्षणादिभ्यः पास्त्रादेव निवारणं धर्मः।

Kamasutra, p. 127.

³ येनागतेषु वसिष्ठमित्रेषु वत्सतरी विद्यसिता।

Uttara Carita, IV. 87.

⁴ तदेतत् प्रवृत्तम् य उच्चिन्न्यात् सगोक्त्रहृत्यया संयुक्तोभवेत्।

C.I.I. III. p. 71.

⁵ शागमेन भवान् यज्ञं करोतु यदिहेच्छसि।

विधिदृष्टेन यज्ञेन धर्मंमध्ययहेतुना।

यज्ञबीजः मुरश्रेष्ठ येषु हिंसा न विद्यते।

Vayu, Pu. 57. 100.

C.f. *Matsya*, Pu. 143. 12-14.

⁶ Itsing, p. 44.

⁷ The four varieties of honey were:—

Bhrāmara, *pāṇṭika*, *kṣaudra* and *mākpika*—See Ch. V. p. 145, f. n. 6.

भ्रामरं पीतिकं क्षीङ्गं मासिकं च यथोत्तम्।

वरं जीर्णं च तेषान्ये द्वे एव हृष्टुपयोजयेत्।

Ast. Sam. VI. 98.

Kumar. VI. 50, VII. 72, Raghu. XI 69, Visnu. III. 11.82, Vayu. 79. 11-12, 105.34, Kurma. 22.

⁸ Vāgbhaṭa I mentions five varieties of sugarcane:—

Paughraka, *vāñčikas*, *Salaparvaka*, *kāñčāra* and *kaipdla* and considers the juice extracted with the help of a machine unwholesome. *Ast. Sam.* Su. VI. 83-85.

C.f. *Ast. Hrd.* V. 44.

phānita the worst.¹ Bāṇa mentions two varieties of sugar, red and white.² Sugar was also prepared with a grass called *yavāsa*.³ Besides the old sweet⁴ preparations such as *madhulājā*, *kṛṣara*, *modakas*, *ukturikā*, *samyāva*, *pūpa*, *pbenaka*, *pāyasa*, *abhyūṣa* and *gūḍāudana*,⁵ some new preparations are mentioned. *Morendaka* was a kind of sweet prepared from inspissated milk. The solid part of it was formed into the shape of the eggs of a peacock, fried in clarified butter and coated with sugar.⁶ *Vimardaka* was a preparation of groats and clarified butter.⁷ Other sweets mentioned are—*locikā*, *īṣṭaka*, *vitānaka*, and *polikā*. But as neither Sanskrit

Phānita—Angv. p. 182, Amar. II. 9.43, Ast. Sam. VI. 86.

Gūḍa—Angv. p. 181, Vayu. 105.34, Ast. Sam. VI. 86.

Matiyāndikā—Angv. p. 181, Amar. II. 9.43, Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 88, Malavika II. p. 42, Ast. Hrd. V. 49.

Khanda—Ast. Sam. VI. 88, Vayu. 105.34.

Sarkarā—Angv. p. 181, Kurma. 25, Amar. II. 9.43, Harsa. p. 156.

Sītā (sugarcandy)—Amar. II. 9.43, Ast. Hrd. V. 49.

¹ शक्ते रेतु विकाराणां फाणितं च वरावरे।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 98.

² *Papala* *Sarkarā*—(red sugar).

Karka *Sarkarā*—White sugar—Harsacarita p. 156.

³ Ast. Hrd. V. 50.

⁴ *Gudavikāra* denotes all sweets prepared with *gūḍa* (Ritusambhā V. 16) and *Kbandakādhyaka*, those with unrefined sugar.

जलानुपानं वा खण्डकाद्यकमन्यद्वा प्रकृतिसारम्य युवतमूभावप्युपवृत्तीदाताम्।
Kamasutra. IV. 10.16.

⁵ *Madhulājā*—Kāmandaka VII. 52.

Cf. Kurma. 20.

Kṛṣara—Matsya. 268. 6.30.

Modakas (sweet balls)—were generally prepared with rice or wheat flour mixed with sugar, some spices and slices of the kernel of cocoanuts.—Vikram. III. 65, 75. Angv. Mrch. V. 98, Malavika, p. 81, Sakuntala, p. 62, Matsya. 268. 6-30. Also see F.D.A.I. Ch. VI. p. 171.

Samyāva—Kurma II. 17.

Pūpa or *apūpa*—Mrch. V. 98, Amar. II. 47-48, Vayu. 80.48, Matsya. 268. 6-30, Kurma. II. 17.

Pbenaka—Angv. 182. Fine sweet cakes prepared with powdered wheat flour.

Pāyasa—Matsya. 268. 6-30, Raghu. X. 51, 54.

Gṛitapūra—Vayu. 80.47.

Abhyūṣa—Amar. II. 9.47.

Gūḍāudana—Mrch. I. 8, Matsya. 268.6-30.

Utkarikā was a sweet preparation with rice flour, milk, treacle and clarified butter.

Angv. 182, Bharata. III. 36-39, Div. 500-23.

⁶ *Morrīdaka*—Angv. p. 182.

⁷ घृत सक्तुकान्वितम् द्रव्यम् विनर्दर्शकम्

Ast. Hrd. Uttara. 39.

dictionaries nor books on food and drinks enlighten us about the way they were prepared it is difficult to say much about them.¹

SALTS, SPICES AND CONDIMENTS

All the varieties of salts mentioned by Caraka were in use.² As before saline preparations were considered exciting hence ascetics and newly married couples were advised to avoid them.³ There does not seem to have been any great change in this respect. The common spices used for seasoning were dry ginger, cumin, mustard, coriander, myrobalan, long pepper, black pepper, cloves, cardamom, turmeric and asafoetida.⁴ Black pepper is

¹ *Locika*—*Bharata*, III. 36-39.

Uttaka

मध्यान् वक्ष्ये करमभव्यं इष्टका षृतपूरकाः।

Vayu. 80.47.

Vitarka—*Matsya*, 268, 6-30.

Polikā—*Matsya*, 268, 6-30.

² *Kāmasūtra*, I. 4.38, IV. 1.28, *Bṛhat Sam.* 76.11, *Kurma*, 22, *Vayu*, 74 *Matsya* 217.60, *Raghu*, V. 73, *Angv.* p. 182, *Ast. Hrd. Su.* 12.

तथात्वजस्तेहयोर्व गन्धकटुकभाज्वैष्यधातां च दुलभातां भवनेतु प्रच्छन्नं निधानम्।

Kamasutra, IV. 1.28.

यस्माद्वरसाः सर्वे नोत्कटा सवर्णविनाः।

श्रियं च विवर्योनित्यं तस्मात्त्वान्ति प्रयच्छ्य मे।

Matsya, 84.7.

The *Matsya* (217.60) mentions following varieties of salts: *Saindbara*, *ndubid*, *pāthya*, *pākya*, *sāmudra*, *lomaka*, *kuppa*, *sawarsala*, *viḍa*, *vālakeya*, *yavāb-
saka*, *avrakṣāra*, *kālabbasma*.

³ संगतयोस्त्रिरात्रवदः शम्या ब्रह्मचर्यं शारतवणवर्जमहारस्तथा सप्ताहं सतूर्यमञ्जल-
स्नानं प्रसाधनम्।

Kama Sutra, 191.1.

अभोज्यानि यतीनाऽच्च प्रयत्नवणानि च।

Vayu. 18.20.

⁴ हिञ्जज्ज्वला जीरकभद्रमूस्ता बचाया ग्रन्थिः तगुडा च शूच्छीः।

एषां मया सेविता गन्धयुक्तिं कथं नाहं मधुस्वर इति।

Mrcch. VIII. 13.

जीरको जरणोजाजी कणा कृष्ण तु जीरके, मुष्पीकारवी पृष्ठी पृष्ठुः कालोपकुञ्चित्वा।

Amar. II. 9. 36-37.

परितेषु च हरिताक वप्रानियस्तम्बाव्यीरक सर्वपाजमोद शतपुणा तमाल गुलमांपच
कारयेत्।

Kamasutra, IV. 1.6.

साजनोदत्तवणाहरीतंकी शृङ्गवेर सहिता च पिप्ली।

मध्यतत्रतत्त्वोष्णवारिनिश्चूर्णं पानमुदरामिनीपनम्।

Bṛhat-saṁhitā, 76.11.

Cf. *Matsya*, II. 9.36-38, *Kurma*, 20, *Vayu*, 74, *Raghu*, IV. 46, VI. 57,
Kuñjara, VIII. 25.

called Dharmapattana in the *Amarakośa*, which shows that it was grown near Dharmapattana on the sea coast.¹ *Asafoetida* is called *Bāhlika* which shows that it was imported from Afghanistan.² The skin of *mātulīṅga* was used with betel leaves for perfuming the mouth.³

Many sauces and condiments were prepared and used. The most common were *kāmbalika*, *khāda*, *temana* and sour gruel. Two varieties of sour gruel, one in which husked cereals were used and the other in which unhusked cereals were used, are mentioned.⁴ Sour gruel seems to be a favourite article of food in *Kākṣi*, *Avanti* and *Sauvira*.⁵ Jams and syrups prepared from fruits were also used as condiments with food.⁶ Vinegar was prepared as before, from *guḍa*, sugarcane juice, cereals, and grapes. Bulbs, roots, and fruits were preserved in it.⁷ A new preparation from oil cake, which was acidic in taste, was called *Srikukkuṇṭa*. It was in common use in *Mālava* country.⁸ The *Harṣacarita* mentions a preparation of fragrant mango fruit. Camphor, cloves and some sweet smelling flowers such as *campaka* were also used in preparing it.⁹

¹ *Amar.* II. 9.36.

² *Amar.* II. 9.40.

³ मातुलुङ्गत्वचस्तान्त्रूलानि च स्युः।

Kamasutra. I. 4.8.

⁴ विविध लवण फल हरित शाक तिक्त कटुकाम्लोपदंशान् वेस्याः पादयेषुः।

Kamasutra. I. 4.38.

Kāmbalika—*Angv.* p. 221. Also see *F.D.A.I.* p. 147, f. n. 7.

Khāda—*Angv.* p. 221. Also see *F.D.A.I.* p. 147, f. n. 6.

Temana—*Amar.* II. 9.44.

Vyanjana—(condiments) *Kurma*. 22.

Kāñjika—(sour gruel) *Div.* 496.5, *Dhārvantari* VI. 294. See *F.D.A.I.* p. 146, f. n. 7.

Tuṣodaka—sour gruel prepared with unhusked cereals.

Sauprakā—Sour gruel prepared with husked cereals.

⁵ मारनालक सौवीर कुलमाणाभिषुतानि च।

⁶ अवन्तिसोम धान्याम्बुद्धुजलानि च काञ्जिके।

Amar. II. 9.39.

Dasakumāracarita. VI.

Sauvira—Lower Sind.

⁷ *Khāndava* (jams)—*Ast.* *Sam.* *Su.* VII.

Rāga (syrups prepared from fruits) *Ast.* *Sam.* *Su.* VII.

⁸ *Ast.* *Hrd.* *Su.* V.

⁹ तिलसर्वपिष्ठाकजो मासवदेश प्रसिद्धो अम्लखडकविशेषः

Ast. *Hrd.* *Cikitsa* 12.

¹⁰ *Harṣacarita*, p. 66.

OILS AND OILSEEDS

All the oilseeds mentioned in the earlier period were used for extracting oil.¹ But besides clarified butter, sesamum oil and mustard oil were in general use as frying mediums.² Oil was used in preparing boiled rice and gruel.³ The oil extracted from sesamum was considered the best and that from safflower the worst.⁴ Vāgbhaṭa II recommends the use of oil chiefly in the winter season.⁵ Oil cake was used as food by hermits but its use is forbidden in a Srāddha.⁶ Many condiments were also prepared from it.⁷ Of the animal fats, fat of a goat is considered the best and that of an elephant the worst. Other animals, whose fat was used in food, were a fish called *asulki*, a pig, a cock, and *Pākabamīsa*.⁸

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

Fruits, as before, formed a very important part of our diet.⁹ Yuan Chwang writes that in the region near Kashmir pears, plums, peaches, apricots and grapes were planted.¹⁰ Pomegranates and melons were grown everywhere.¹¹ He states that peaches and pears were introduced by the Chinese into India hence peaches

¹ Angv. p. 232, Div. 70.27, Mārkaṇḍeya. Pu. 29.9-11, Amar. II. 9.7-20, Sakuntala p. 94, Vayu. 5.9.

भौजनावशिष्टाद् योरसात् सारस्त्रहर्णं तथातंलं गुड्योः कुटृनावेक्षणं प्राचाम
मष्ट तुपुं कुट्ट्यज्ञारानामुपवोजनम्।

Kamasutra. IV. 1.33.

² *Tilataila* (sesamum oil)—Beal Si-yu-ki. I. 88, Ast. Sam. Su. IX. It was included in untimely (*vikila*) food. Watters VIII. p. 282.

Sarjapatala (mustard oil)—Itsing p. 44, Ast. Sam. Su. IX., Si-yu-ki. p. 88.

³ *Tailakāra* (boiled rice with oil)—Angv. p. 64.

Tailayavāgñi (gruel with oil)—Angv. p. 181.

⁴ तिलं तंलं वरं तेषु कीसुभमवरं परम्।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 111.

⁵ नवमनं वसां तंलम्।

Ast. Hrd. III. 13.

⁶ Vayu. 16.14, Kuema. 2.17.

⁷ *Tilapigiyākavikṛti*—Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

⁸ श्रीलूकी शौरी पाकहराजा कुनकुटोदभवावसा थेष्टा स्ववर्गेषु, कुम्भीर महिषोद्भवा
काक मद्गुबसातद्वत् कारण्डोत्या च निन्दिता। शास्त्राद मेदसां लागं हस्तिनं च वरावरे।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 113-114.

⁹ Angv. p. 64 and p. 231, Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 168-209, Watters. p. 277.
Beal Si-yu-ki. II. 88, Itsing p. 45, Amar. II. 4.27-168. Vayu. 45-46.

¹⁰ Watters Vol. II, 277.

¹¹ Watters Vol. II, p. 277.

were called Chināni and pears were called China-rājaputra.¹

He himself used to receive one hundred and twenty *Jambiras* (*citrus medica*) every day.² Bread fruit and cocoanut were cultivated in Assam (*Kāmarūpa*).³ In the Ajanta paintings we can see mango, custard apple, a round fruit which looks like a *Bilva* fruit or a lemon and another fruit which looks like a brinjal.⁴ Of all the fruits, grapes were considered the best⁵ and *Lakuka* the worst.⁶

From the *Vāyu Purāṇa* we learn that the people of Hari-vatiṣa liked the juice of sugarcane, the people of Hiraṇyavatavarṣa the juice of *Lakuka*, those of Ramaṇakavarṣa the juice of the fruit of *Nyagrodha*, those of Ilavṛtavarṣa of the juice of *jambū* fruit, those of Gandhamadana island the juice of bread fruit and the Siddhas the juice of *Parūṣaka*. Although we are not in a position to identify all these regions, yet it shows the popularity of fruit juices in the country.⁷

All the vegetables, which were spoiled by frost, fire, bad breeze, carnivorous animals, eaten by insects or growing under water or not growing in a proper season, very old or dry, were avoided, but dry radish and unripe *Bilva* fruit were used.⁸ From the *Kāmasūtra* it appears that besides radish, *kūsmāṇḍa* (pumpkin

¹ Watters Vol. I. pp. 292-293.

² Beal—Life of Yuan Chwang.

³ Beal—Si-ju-ki. II. 195.

⁴ Griffith—Ajanta Paintings Cave I plates 102-112.

⁵ Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 168.

⁶ कलानामवरे तत्र लिकुचं सर्वदोषकृत्

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 168.

⁷ Juice of sugarcane—Vayu. 46.9.

Juice of *Lakuka* fruit—Vayu. 46-9.

Juice of *Nyagrodha* fruit—Ibid.

Juice of *Jambū* fruit—Vayu. 46.12-29.

Juice of Bread fruit—Vayu. 43. 4-5.

Juice of *Parūṣaka*—Vayu. 38.65.

⁸ हिमानसोऽन् दुर्वात व्याल लालादि दूषितम् ।

जनुजुट्टं जले वर्णम् भूमित्रमनात्मवम् ।

धन्य धान्यदुर्हीनवीर्यंजीणांतयाति च ।

धान्यं द्यजेतथा शार्क रक्ष सिद्धमकोमलम् ।

असञ्जातरसंदृष्टुकं चान्यत्रमूलकात् ।

प्रायेण कलमप्येवं तथाऽम् विस्वविजितम् ।

Ast. Hrd. Su. VI. 140-43.

gourd), *āluka* (an esculent root), *pālamīki* (a pot herb), *damanaka*, the hogplum (*āmrātaka*), *ervāruka* (a kind of cucumber), *trapusa* (*cucumber*), bottle gourd and brinjal were in common use.¹ Some other vegetables such as *sīraṇa*, *śigru* and *granthiparna* were also eaten.² But according to medical works *Paṭola*, *Kuṣmāṇḍa*, *sunīṣappaka*, *jivanti*, unripe radish and *vāstuka* were considered good vegetables³ and leaves and stalks of mustard the worst.⁴

Yuan Chwang states that lotus fibres were used as food by the ascetics.⁵ People generally avoided the use of onions and garlic.⁶ According to Itsing the Hindus believed that onions of any kind caused pain, spoilt eyesight and caused the body to become more and more weak.⁷ But the Bower MSS. prescribe the use of garlic as medicine in the treatment of many diseases. The author prescribes a method by which it could be administered to those Brāhmaṇas who avoided it. He says that a cow should be kept without grass for three nights. She should then be given stalks of garlic with some grass to eat and her milk, curds, clarified butter and buttermilk should be given to such Brāhmaṇas.⁸ He also describes how a soup of garlic should be prepared, with some flour, meat, ground *mudga* pulse, some green and dry spices and *Soñcala* salt. The mixture should be well fried in clarified butter before preparing the soup.⁹

¹ मूलकालुक पलक्की दमनका भ्रातकर्वाक व्रपुस वार्ताक कुम्भाण्डालाबु सूरण शुकनासा स्वयं गुरुता तिळपणिकामिन्द्र लशुन पलाण्डु प्रभूतीना सर्वोपधीनां च वीजप्रहृणं काले वापस्त्र ।

Kāmasūtra, IV. 1.29.

² उरवूक वचावङ्क सुरस सूरण शिशु प्रनियपणंगवेशु का गर्मद् गुरुम् गृह वाटिकः ।

Harsacarita, p. 229.

³ शीलये छालिगोधूम यवषट्क जाङ्गलम् ।

सुनियण्णक जीवन्ती बालमूलक वास्तुकम् ।

Ast. Hrd. VIII. 42-43.

पथ्यामलक मृदीका पटोला: मुद्ग शकर्त्ता: ।
बल्तीफलानां प्रवरं कूज्माण्ड वातपितृचित् ।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 134.

⁴ शाकानामवरं विष्मूत्रसर्वदोषकृत् ।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 131.

⁵ Watters—Yuan Chwang, II. 117.

⁶ Watters—Yuan Chwang, p. 178, Beal Si-yu-ki II. 88.

⁷ Itsing, p. 45 and p. 137.

⁸ Bower MSS. I. 34.

⁹ कन्दाञ्चुलाभानपहृतमलान् सकन्दुकुलमासचुञ्चः

सर्पस्तंलाभ्यां रमितविकृतः सूष्मांसप्रकारे ।

नोदगेश्वूर्णहरितकयुतंन्व सौवर्चलाङ्गये—

रचात्संकरंवृभिरपरः साधितावेतराणि ।

Bower. MSS. I. 31.

INTOXICATING DRINKS

From the *Āngavijjā* it appears that many varieties of intoxicating drinks were in use.¹ Kālidāsa's works have similarly many references to drinking.² It was believed that intoxication gave a special charm to women; ladies of royal families, therefore, enjoyed drinking.³ Police officers, soldiers, drummers and their friends are represented as enjoying themselves by drinking in the liquorshops.⁴ The statement of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* that in Kaliyuga even women would drink has probably a reference to contemporary habits i.e. to the fourth century A.D. when it was finally redacted.⁵ The *Matsya Purāṇa* describes Kṛṣṇa drinking with sixteen thousand ladies and does not regard him as a sinner. Ajantā paintings also depict scenes of drinking such as wines being brought in large jars.⁶ Yuan Chwang states that the

¹ The *Angv.* (p. 64, p. 181, 221) mentions the following varieties of intoxicating drinks:—

Apakṣarasa, pakvarasa, āsava, arispa, maireyaka, madbu, godhasolaka, yava, prasann, ayasa, svetashra, dsavāsava, niṣṭhita, madbura, jagala, aṣṭhakālikā, surd, phusukundi, jayakālikā.

² *Sakuntalā* VI. p. 188, *Ritusamhāra*. I. 3, IV. 11, VI. 10, *Raghū*. IV. 42, 61, XIII. 52.

³ In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* Irāvatī indulges in drinking. Indumati, the queen of Aja liked to receive wine from the mouth of her husband (*Raghū*. VIII. 68). The Mandsore inscription (Fleet C.I.I. III. 18. p. 81) mentions a phrase, 'like the cheeks of intoxicated women.' The after effects of drinking on women are described in the *Kumārasambhava*. The *Hṛṣacarita* (p. 82) also mentions beautiful ladies who had drunk wine. Kumārila mentions that in Abicchatra and Mathurā even Brāhmaṇa women indulged in drinking.

प्रथमं लोकवाद एव प्रथा सर्वं संवृत्तः।

Mālavika. III. 49.

स्वत्तयन् पदे पदे।

Kumar. IV. 12.

चूर्णमान नवनम्

Kumār. VIII. 80.

⁴ लब्धं भयुमदं प्रवप्ण चमंकारपुटोत्तालित कोण पदु विषद्वन् रणन् मङ्गलपटहम्। *Hṛṣacarita*. IV. p. 142.

दीयते गणिका कामुकानां सकर्परं ताम्बूलम् पीयते चानवरतं ससीलारं मदिरा हनाः
चेटाः आसवकरकापीतमदिरेणिकाजवंये मुक्तास्ते पिबन्ति।

Mrch. VI.

C.f. *Sakuntalā*. VI. p. 182.

⁵ *Vāyu* 58.43.

The Brāhmaṇa Smṛti also lays down that drinking should be avoided only by those women whose husbands are away.

मध्य मादानियोगं च न कुप्तिं प्रोपितेष्वभौ।

Brāhmaṇa. Sm. 25.13. p. 194.

⁶ Fahien states that drinking was unknown throughout Madhyadeśa but

Kṣatriyas used intoxicating drinks prepared from the juice of grapes and sugarcane while the Vaiśyas used strong fermented drinks. The Śramaṇas and the Brahmanas drank only syrups prepared with the juice of grapes and sugarcane.¹ Cultivation of *soma* plant is referred to in the Harṣacarita. It is, therefore, probable that Brāhmaṇas may have used *soma* juice as a beverage.² From Perumpanattarupadai we learn that in the south people other than Brāhmaṇas were addicted to drinking.³ Rich liquors imported from the west were served at the royal table and the poor enjoyed country wine.⁴

Intoxicating drinks were generally prepared from grapes, sugarcane, honey and rice.⁵ Wines flavoured with mango juice and *Pāṭala* flowers were also used.⁶ The Vāyu Purāṇa mentions an intoxicating liquor called *Kasya*.⁷ Wines were also prepared from such fruits as *rājādāna* and *madanaphala* and *madhūka* flowers.⁸ All the varieties of liquors mentioned in the earlier period were used in this period and the medical works prescribe their moderate use, as in the earlier works.⁹

the literary evidence before us makes it highly improbable.

आपानगोष्ठीषु तथा तासां ग नरपुञ्जवः।

गुश्वाव विविष्टं गीतं तन्त्रीस्वरविभित्तम्।

Matsya. 120.37.

Griffith—Ajanta Paintings.

¹ Watters—Yuan Chwang. I. p. 17.8.

Beal Si-yu-ki, p. 89.

² सेकमुकुमार सोमके दारिका हरितादमाण प्रथणानि

Harṣacarita. II. p. 44.

³ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—A History of South India, p. 194.

⁴ Porunar. II. 84-93, 102-121.

⁵ द्राष्टेभुर्मासिकं शालिदृष्टमात्रीहि पञ्चमा।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

⁶ Raghu. XIX. 46.

⁷ कश्यं भद्रं स्मृतं विष्णः।

Vayu. 63.116.

⁸ Harṣacarita. p. 230.

⁹ *Sārd*—Amar. II. 10.39, Kamasutra. IV. 1.35.

Vāruṇī—Kumar. IV. 12.

Siddhī—Amar. II. 10.42, Raghu. XVI. 52, Malavika. IV. p. 48, Mrch. VII. 30.

Surṣasava—सीषु मुरासवपत्ता।

Mrch. VII. 30.

Maireya—तत्र भद्रु मेरेयसुरासवान्

Kamasutra. I. 4.38.

Cf. Ibid. IV. 1.35.

DRINKING WATER AND OTHER BEVERAGES

Bad smelling and foamy water and that taken from small ponds was not used for drinking purposes.¹ Good drinking water is said to have eight virtues which are, however, not mentioned.² The water from rivers, tanks, springs and wells was, as before generally used for drinking.³ It was stored in jars hung in windows, receiving cool gusts of breeze which kept it cool by evaporation.⁴ In the Harṣacarita we find a special officer in charge of drinking water.⁵ In the medical works water is called the very essence of life.⁶ Rain water is regarded as the best for drinking, especially, in the rainy season while impure water, if necessary, was used only after straining in a piece of cloth.⁷

Prasannā—Amar. II. 10.40.

Kādambarī—Amar. II. 10.40.

Mādhabī—Amar. II. 10.41, Kamasutra. I. 4.38.

Nārikeldsava (an āsava prepared from the juice of cocoanut.) Raghu.

IV. 65.

Madīrī—Mrch. VI., Ritusamhāra VI. 10. For details see F. D. A. I. Chapter V. pp. 151-53, Ast. Sam. Su. VI and Ast. Hrd. V.

दीपनं रोचनं मध्यं दीपोषणं तुष्टिपुष्टिदम्
सस्वादुं तिक्तं कट्टकमस्तपाकरसाम् चरम्
सं कथायं स्वरारोग्यं प्रतिभावणकृत्तम्
नन्दनिद्रात्तिनिद्रेभ्यो हिं पित्तासदूयणम्
कृत्तस्थूलं हिं स्वं ज्ञातो विशेषनम्।
वातश्लेष्मं हरं युक्त्यापीतं विपदन्यथा।

Ast. Hrd. Su. V. 62-63.

¹ दुर्गंधं केनिलं चेव तथा वै पत्वलोदकम्
न लभेद्व गौस्तुलिं नक्तं यन्चेव गृह्णते।

Vayu. 78.16.

² अष्टाङ्गोपेतस्य पानीयस्यापूरयतेर्ति।

Div. 127.19.

³ कौप सारस रादाग चौष्ण्यं प्रासवणीदिभदम्।
बापी नदीतोषमिति पुनः स्मृतमष्टधा।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 12.

C.f. Angv. p. 232.

⁴ श्वलम्बिता गवाज्ञेयु वातं गृह्णन्ति संक्षिलं गमयेः।

Mrch. IV.

⁵ Tejakarmāntika—Harṣacarita Chapter V.

⁶ पानीयं प्राजिनां प्राणा विद्वमेव च तन्मयम्

अतोऽस्यन्तनिषेषेऽपि न चवचिद् वारि वार्थते।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 30.

⁷ दिव्यं वारि वरं वर्ये।

Ast. Sam. VI. 32.

Milk and its other products such as butter-milk were generally used as beverages. Sometimes earthen pots containing butter milk were cooled by keeping them underground in ice which was brought from the Himalayas.¹ Many syrups were prepared with the juices of fruits such as mango, dates, grapes, *lakura*, rose apple, *nyagrodha*, bread fruit and *parūṣaka*. Juice of sugar-cane, and *gūḍa* mixed with water were also used as beverages.² Drinks were also prepared with some spices such as dry ginger, *asana* and *jalada*.³ Itsing states that it was a common practice in India to offer one of the eight syrups prescribed by the Buddha to distinguished visitors, teachers, pupils, disciples, strangers and friends.⁴ Syrups are frequently mentioned in other works of the period.⁵ Some drinks prepared with plantain, cocoanut, and *patola* leaves were used in the summer season. Camphor was mixed in these beverages to make them fragrant.⁶

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The art of cooking was considered so important that it is regarded as one of the sixty four fine arts.⁷ The story of Gomini

सात धीत शिला पृष्ठ वस्त्रादिभ्यः सूतंजलम् ।
हेममूष्मयपात्रस्यमविचक्तं सदा पिवेत् ।
शुग्वेराम्बुदाराम्बु भवम्बु जलदाम्बु च ।

Ast. Hrd. III. 23.

¹ तुषार परिकरक शिशिरी त्रियमाणोददिविति ।

Harsacarita. V.

² See F.D.A.I. p. 183, f. n. 7.

³ Ast. Hrd. III. 23. See F.D.A.I. 187, f. n. 7.

⁴ Itsing p. 125.

⁵ उणमन्त्र द्विजातिभ्यो दातम्बं व्रेय इच्छता ।

पन्त्र फल भूलेभ्यो पानकेभ्यस्तर्थवच ।

Kurma.

जलानुपानं सख्तज्ञापकमन्यद्वा प्रकृतिसारम्ययुक्तमुभावप्युपुच्छीयाताम् ।

Kamasutra. II. 10.15-17.

C.f. Angv. p. 181.

⁶ पिवेद् रसं नाति धनं रसाला रामचाडबौ । ३०

पानकं पञ्चतारं वा नव मूदभाजने स्थितम् ।

मोच चोच वल्लर्युक्तं लाम्य मूष्मय शुक्तिभिः । ३१

पाटला वासिरं चाम्भः लकर्पूरं सुशीतलम् ।

मधुसर्जन्तरं मृद्दीका पञ्चकं सिताम्भसा । ३२

पन्थोदा पञ्च चारेन सप्ततंसजसकुभिः । ३३

दाक्षा मधूक लर्जूर काशमवं सपञ्चकः । ३४

तुल्यांशः कलितं पूतं शीतं कर्पूर वासितम् ।

Ast. Hrd. Su. III. 30-34.

⁷ Kamasutra.

in the Daśakumāracarita shows that proficiency in cooking was considered an essential qualification of brides.¹ Kitchens were generally located in well lighted, clean, quiet and secluded places where strangers might have no access.² Cooks expert in cooking pulses, rice, cakes, and sweets are mentioned.³ There is also mention of a special officer in charge of the kitchen in the Allahabad inscription.⁴

The various processes in cooking such as mixing various substances, frying in oils or clarified butter, and fumigation are mentioned in the Amarakośa.⁵ The description of Vasanta-sena's kitchen is interesting.⁶ Even in a hermitage like that of Vālmīki such fine preparations as rice boiled with some fruits and vegetables were available. Their fragrance pervaded the whole atmosphere.⁷ The Ast. Sam. mentions cakes cooked in a fire made of chaff, a pot sherd, a frying pan, an oven, and on charcoal.⁸

¹ Daśakumāracarita. VI.

² महानसं च सुगृह्णं स्वादयनीयं च।

Kama Sutra. IV. 1.18.

C.f. Ast. Sam. Su. VIII. 60.61, Amar. II. 9.27.

³ मूपकारास्तु बल्लवाः।

पारालिका आवसिका: मूदाप्रीदनिका गुणाः।

पापूपिकः कान्दिका भक्ष्यकार इमेतिपुः।

Amar. II. 9. 27-28.

सद्व्यञ्जनं कर्त्तरस्तत्पक्षा व्यवकास्तवा।

प्रताधका भोजकास्त्रं गावसंवाहकास्तवा।

Kamandaka. VII. 15.

⁴ *Khadyapātika* (a superintendent of the kitchen.) (Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta). The chief cook is called *Panrogava*, (*Hariçacarita*, Amar. II. 9.27.)

⁵ *Bhūvita*—fumigated.

Picchila (sauce mixed with rice or gruel).

Āpaka (fried in butter).

Amar. II. 9. 46-47.

⁶ गृहं दरिद्र जनतोभोत्यादन कर आहारस्युचितो हिङ्गु तेत गन्धः विविधं सुरानि धूमो-
द्यार्मार्नितव्यं संताप्यमानं निःस्वतीव महानसंदारमुलैः।

⁷ ग्रयमपरः हलपशूदरपेशि धावतिरूपिदारकः। वहृविष्वाहारं मुप सापयति मूपकारः।
वव्यन्तेमोदकाः पञ्चन्ते पूपकाः।

Mrcb. IV. p. 237.

⁸ गन्धेण स्फुरता मनाग्नमूर्तोनकरस्य चर्पिष्मतः।

कर्कन्धुकस्मिधदाकपचनामोदः परिस्तीर्यते।

Uttaracarita. IV. 1.

⁹ कुकूल स्पर्शभ्राष्ट कन्दङ्गारविपाचितान्

एकयोनी लघूनविद्यादपूपानुतरोतरम्।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 66.

As before the rich generally used utensils made of gold or silver, the people of the middle classes—vessels made of other metals and the poor leaves sewn together and earthenware.¹ All the utensils mentioned in the earlier period were in common use.² From the account of Yuan Chwang we learn that people used saucepans and stewpans but they did not know the use of a steamer. People did not use spoons or chop sticks.³ Drinking cups were made of conchshell and were engraved with designs.⁴ Oil was stored in leather bags.⁵ Spitoons for spitting the juice of betel leaves had come into use.⁶

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

As in the early periods a householder is expected to offer food to gods, guests, Brāhmaṇas, spirits and dependants before he himself takes his meals. It is stated that many gods come to the householder in the form of a guest so a man should always be anxious to accord hospitality to a guest and he who takes his meals without feeding a guest is a sinner.⁷ To provide food

¹ भूक्तवाचातपले पात्रे सौवर्णे राजतेऽयवावा
भूञ्जानोमूष्मये पात्रे कच्छप्त परितप्यसे।

Div. 559.

सौवर्णे राजतं ताम् पितृचा पात्रमूष्म्यते।

Vayu. 47.1.

Itsing states that fresh leaves sewn together were used as plates and bronze vessels were also used (pp. 46-47).

² The Harṣacarita VII mentions a water jar (*kalasa*), *harkari*, *kumbba*, (*aliñjara*), a box for betel leaves (*tāmbūla karaka*), a utensil for cooking (*tāmracarapa*), an iron pan (*kafāba*), a drinking cup (*pānabhūjana*), a ring well (*gandakusūla*), a pan (*tāpaka*) or (*tāpikā*) and a spit (*bastaka*).

C.f. Amar. II. 9. 30-34.

³ Beal. Si-yu-ki. I. 89.

⁴ Harṣacarita. pp. 156, 207.

⁵ Amar. *Kutu* or *kutupa*. II. 9.33.

⁶ *Bhāumapataladgraba*—Kamasutra. IV. 1.18.

⁷ See Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 37 F.D.A.I. p. 191, f. n. 2.

घाता प्रजापतिः शक्तो वह्निवसु गणोर्यमा।

प्रविश्यतिथिमेरे वै भूञ्जतेऽप्तं नरेत्वर। ६६।

तस्मादतिथिपूजायां प्रतेत रततं नरः।

स केवलमधं भूक्ते यो भूक्ते रथतिथिं विना। ६७।

Visnu. Pu. III. 11. 66-67.

ततः मुवासिनी दुःखि गर्भणी वृद्ध वालकान्

भोजयेत् संस्तुतानेन प्रथमं चरमं पृही।

Visnu. III. 11. 68.

and drinks to the blind, the sick, the lame, the poor, and the orphans is considered a sacred duty,¹ and it is laid down that one should never cook food only for himself.

The Purāṇas repeat the rules about the purity of food. They prohibit the use of unclean food and that offered by unclean or dishonest persons for it is stated that one who eats food offered by a sinner himself becomes a sinner.²

The duty of taking meals on a clean piece of ground after washing hands, feet and mouth is equally emphasised.³ Even a

यत्किञ्चित् पूर्वते गेहे नश्यं वा भोज्यने व च
प्रनिवेद्य न भोजतव्यं तस्मिन्द्वयतने तदा।

Vayu. Pu. 74. 31.

यज्ञाविशिष्टमद्यादा न कुड्डी नान्यमानतः।
आत्मार्च भोजनं यस्य रत्यर्थं यस्य मैथुनम्।
बृत्यर्थं यस्य चाधीर्तं निष्कलं तस्य जीवितम्।

Kurma. Pu. 19.

Bharata in his Nāṭyaśāstra (III. 36-39) also gives food offerings suitable for Brāhmaṇas, gods, manes, sages, Rākṣasas, and birds.

प्रप्रपानविधानेन भूज्ञीतार्थं विनात्यात्।
अभिनन्य प्रसान्नात्मा हृत्वा दत्त्वा च शक्तिः।
पाक सजलमेकान्ते यथासुसमिति हृत्वम्।
प्रयच्छेत् सर्वभूदित्यं पाचयेनान्नमात्यने।

Ast. Sam. III. 76-77.

¹ अन्ध व्यापित हीनाङ्गशीनानाय वनीपकाः।
तेष्यप्रपानम् साम्येन लभेत्य विषट्टिताः।

Ratnāvall. IV. 20.

² Kurma. Pu. II. Ch. XVII., Matsya. Ch. 16.

यो यस्यान्नं समष्टनाति स तस्यादनाति किल्वपम्।

Kurma. Pu. II. Ch. 17.

काले सात्म्यं शुचि हितं स्तिर्भोज्यं लघुतन्मना। ३५।
दद्रुतं मधुरवायं नातिद्रुतविसमितम्।
स्नातः कुडान् विविक्तस्यो धौतपादकराननः। ३६।
तर्पयित्वा पितृन् देवालतिथीन् वासकान् गुरुन्।
प्रत्यवेक्ष्य तिरस्चोपि प्रतिपद्मे परिमहान्। ३७।
तमीक्ष्य सम्प्रयात्मानपनिन्द्रवद्वृन् द्रवम्।
इष्टमिन्दं सहाशनीयाङ्गुचिभकाजनाहृतम्। ३८।
नोजनं तुणकेशादिवृष्टमृणीहृतं पुनः।
शाकादरात्रं भूयिष्ठमस्युणं लवणं रखेत्। ३९।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 35-39.

³ Ast. Sam. Su. X. 16., Itsing. Chapter III. p. 26.

पञ्चादौ भोजनइ कुर्याद् भूमी पात्रं निष्य च।
उपवसेत तत्त्वं एनुराहं प्रजापतिः।
उपनिदे शुचौदेहे पादी प्रक्षाल्य वै करो।
प्राणाम्यादानिनोऽनोधः पञ्चादौ भोजनस्वरेत्।

Kurma. Pu. XIX.

work on medicine like the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* lays down that one should avoid food offered by persons about to die, those maintaining themselves with difficulty, the henpecked, eunuchs, the degraded, hunters, evil doers, associations, enemies, prostitutes, rogues, and a usurer, as also food given in charity to all.¹ The *Matsya Purāṇa* includes atheists, people living in non-Aryan regions, such as Dravida, Konkaṇa and a worshipper of Siva (*lingin*) in the above list.² Leavings of food were not used by respectable persons.³ But Kumārila states that some Brāhmaṇas used to take food of which their friends or relatives had already partaken. He also mentions that the Brāhmaṇas in the north used to eat from the same plate with their wives, children and friends.⁴ But all these rules could be waived in times of scarcity. From the *Kādambarī* we learn that in times of need the people of the high castes could use food and water offered by a *Caṇḍāla*.⁵ Food was taken in a happy mood without reviling it and the practice of washing hands and mouth after meals was observed. Those who did not observe it were looked down upon in society.⁶

There were generally three meals. According to *Sabara Devadatta*'s morning meal consisted of cakes, midday meal of

¹ नान्नमध्यानम् सूर्यणां मृतानां दुष्कृतिविनाम् ।
स्त्रीजित वलीव पतित कूर दुष्कृतकारिणाम् । ७६।
गणारि गणिका सप्तवृत्तानां पाणिकं च न ।
नोत्सङ्गे भक्षयेद् भक्ष्यान् जलं नान्नजिना पिबेत् । ७६।

Ast. Sam. III. 78-79.

² *Matsya*. Pu. XVI.

³ *Cf. Kurma*. Pt. II. Ch. XVII.

⁴ *Itsing*. Ch. IV. p. 24, 25, 26.

'Indians take bath before meals. They do not give leavings of food to anybody. Utensils once used are not given to others without being properly cleaned. Earthen and wooden vessels are used only once. Gold, silver, and copper vessels are cleaned before they are used again'—Watters on *Yuan Chwang*. IX. p. 152.

⁵ *Tantravārtika*.

⁶ *Kādambarī*.

⁷ *Itsing*. IX. 39, *Ast. Sam.* X. 39.

भनिन्दं भक्षयेदित्य वाय्पतोनमकुत्सयन् ।
पञ्चप्रातान् महामीनं प्राणाद्याप्यायनाय च ।

Vispu. Pu. III. 11.85.

भक्ष्यता सम्यगाचाम्य प्राइमुलोद्दमुलोश्चिवा ।
यथायत् पुनराचमेत् पाणी प्रसात्यमलतः ।
गुस्थः प्रशान्तचित्तस्तु कृतासनपरिप्रहः ।

Visou. Pu. III. 11. 86-87.

various food preparations and afternoon meal of sweets such as *modakas*. It seems that there was generally no evening meal.¹ But this may not have been the general rule for every one. Some people, it seems, also took evening meal.² The times of taking meals seem to be well regulated on medical grounds and the transgression of the appropriate time was adjudged a bad habit by physicians.³ Taking meals at midnight at noon or when one was suffering from indigestion was considered improper.⁴ The old rule of dividing the stomach into four parts—two for solid food, one for liquid and one for wind etc. is repeated.⁵

The necessity of changing food according to the temperament and not eating the same preparations day after day was fully recognised.⁶ As before, medical works prescribe food articles suitable for different seasons⁷ and give a list of articles which

¹ पश्च देवदत्तः प्रातरपूर्णं भक्षयति, पाष्ठ्यन्ति विविधमप्रमत्ताति, अपराह्णे मोदकान् भक्षयतीति एकस्मिन्नाहनीतिगम्यते ।

Sabara on Jaimini V. 1.20.
Also see 'Itsing in India' by V.R.R. Dikshitar in I.H.Q. March, 1952,
Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 p. 117.

अस्तिकिञ्चित् प्रातराशोनवेति ।

² पूर्वहृणापराहणयोर्भौतिनम् । साधं चारायनस्य ।

Mucchakatika.

³ उचितवेलातिक्रम चिकित्सकादोषमूदाहरन्ति ।

Kamasutra. I. 4.7.

⁴ नार्वरात्रे न भक्षयते नाजीरो नाद्वरवधृक्
न भिन्नभाजने चैव न भूम्यां न च पाणिषु ।

Malavikagnimitra. II. 35.

C.f. Ast. Hr. Su. XI. 63-68.

Kurma. Pu. II. 19, 20.

⁵ अन्नेन कुसेद्विंशति पानेनैकं प्रपुरयेत् ।
प्राथयं पवनादीनाम् चतुर्थमवश्ययेत् ।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 46-47.

⁶ Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 35. See Ast. Sam. Su. X. 67.

⁷ For Food for winter—See Ast. Sam. Su. IV. 13-17 and Ast. Hr. Su. III.

12-13.

For Food for the spring season—See Ast. Sam. Su. IV. 25-27. and Ast. Hr. Su. III. 20-26.

Food For summer—Ast. Sam. Su. IV. 32-34.

भजेन्मधुरमेवात्रं लघु स्तिर्यं हिमद्ववम् ।

सुशीततेष्यसितात्तात्रो लिहयात् रक्तन् सशक्तरान् । २८।

मध्यं न पेयं, पेयं वा स्वल्पे सवहुवारि वा

कुन्देन्दुधवलंशालिमदनीयाज्जाङ्गलैः पसैः ।

पिवेद्रसं नातिथिं रसालां रागवादवौ । ३०।

पानकं पञ्चरात्रं वा नवमदभाजने स्थितम् ।

could be used daily and of those which should only be used rarely. Easily digestible articles are recommended for daily use while those difficult to digest are considered unfit for daily use.¹ It is laid down that articles difficult to digest, sweet and fatty should be taken in the beginning, acidic and saline preparation in the middle and other flavours in the end.² As before the medical works also mention preparations which should not be taken together.³

The general rules of etiquette were mostly the same as in the earlier period. People were generally expected to eat facing the east, sitting on a seat and not on a cot, in proper utensils, at proper time and at a proper place.⁴ They were also expected

मोच चोषदलेयं पत्तं सात्यम् भूष्यवशुनितिभिः । ३१
पाटलावासितं चाम्भः तकर्पूरं शुशीतलम् ।
भूष्यसर्वर् भृदीका पृष्ठक सिताम्भसा ।
मन्धो वा पञ्चवासारेण सघृतं लाजसक्तुभिः ।
द्राक्षा भूषुक लर्वूर काशमर्यः सपृष्ठकः ।
तुत्यार्द्दिः कल्पितांपूर्वं शीतं कर्पूरवासितम् । ३५ ।

Ast. Hr. Su. III. 28-35.

For Food for the Rainy season—See Ast. Sam. Su. IV. 44-46. and Ast. Hr. Su. III. 45-47.

For Food for the Autumn season—See Ast. Sam. Su. IV. 54-59, and Ast. Hr. Su. III. 47-48.

¹ शीत्येष्वालिगोष्यम् यव पृष्ठक जाज्ञलम् ।
मुनिष्णक जीवन्ती बालमलक वास्तुकम् । ४२ ।
पद्मामलकभृदीका पट्टलीमुद्गशक्तरा ।
भूतं दिव्योदकं क्षीरं क्षीदादिम सैन्धवम् । ४३ ।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 42-43.

किलाट दधि कूर्चिका धार शुक्ताममूत्तकम् ।
कृष्णाक वराहानि गोमत्य महिषामिषम् । ४० ।
मापानिष्वाव शालूक विस पिष्ट विष्टकम् ।
शुक्त शाकानि ववकान् काणितं च न शीत्येत् । ४१ ।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 40-41.

² विसेतु मोचचोब्ब्रामोदकोलारिकादिकम्
भ्राद् द्रव्यं गुरु लिन्यम् स्वादु मन्दं स्तिरं पुर । ४५
विपरीतमतश्चात्ते भृष्येष्वलवचोलाटम् ।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 45-46.
C.f. Visnu. Pu. III. 11.82-83.

³ Ast. Sam. Su. IX. 1-12.

⁴ प्राद्यमुखोऽप्नानिभुव्यन्ति सूर्याभ्निमुखएव च ।
प्रासीनः स्वासने शुद्धे भूम्यां पादीनिधाय च ।
प्राप्युत्यं प्राद्यमुखो भुद्वते वशस्यं दशिणामुखः ।
श्रियं प्रत्यहमुखो भुद्वते ऋतं भुहस्ते उदद्युमः ।

Kurma Pt. II. Ch. XIX.

to take off their head dress and shoes before taking meals.¹ A person was not advised to eat in darkness, in a temple or with his wife. He was not to eat from a broken vessel or from the lap or from the palm of his hands,² nor should he drink water by joining his hands together.³ A person was not to take sweets when others did not partake of them.⁴ He was not to eat all the solid food served to him but was to leave some for departed spirits and birds.⁵ But it was considered improper to leave liquid articles of food such as honey, curds and clarified butter as also delicious cakes called *Sasikuli*.⁶ People generally avoided preparations of sesamum at night.⁷

Itsing states that sitting crosslegged side by side and to have meals stretched out was considered improper. The priests sat on separate small chairs. The chair was about seven inches high by a foot square and its seat was made of wicker. They placed their feet on the ground and trays were placed before them.⁸ First one or two pieces of ginger with some salt were

नारंदी संस्थिते पात्रे नारेते च नरेशवदः।
नाकाके नातिसकीर्णे दत्तवाप्ते च नरामये।

Visnu. III. 11.79.

¹ यद्यभुद्वते वेदितविरातः यज्ञभुद्वते विदिहमुखः।
सोपानत्कद्वच यो भुद्वते सर्वविद्यात्तदामुरम्।

Kurma. XIX.

² नार्धरात्रे न भृष्याहे नारीके नार्द्ववस्त्रघृक्।
न भिन्नभाजने चेव न भूम्यां न पाणिषु।
नोच्छिष्टो षूतनामद्यात्र भूर्धनं स्पूर्णवपि।
न बहूकीर्तिपित्यापि न निश्चेष्ट न भावेदा।
नान्धकारे न रान्ध्यादां न च देवालयादिषु।

Kurma Pu. II. 19. 20-22

³ See F.D.A.I. p. 192, f. n. 1.

⁴ नादत्वानृष्टभृत्नीयात् बहूतो च पश्यताम्।
नादनीयु बहूवर्षेव नरावेकस्य पश्यतः।
बहूतां प्रेक्षमाणानां नैकस्मिन् बहूस्तथा।

Visnu. Pu.

⁵ Itsing. p. 24.

⁶ नारोषं पुरुषोऽनीयादन्यत्र जगतीपते।
न भृवन्नदधिसर्पिभ्यः शङ्कुल्यद्वच विवेकवान्।

Visnu. Pu. III. 11.82.

⁷ सर्वं च तिसतांबद्धं नादादस्तमिते रक्ती
न भूतनाम धायस्येन निषिद्धं भजेत्सुखम्।

Ast. Sam. Su. III. 80.

⁸ Itsing. pp. 22, 24, 116, 123.

served. Then some boiled rice and bean soup were served with hot butter sauce as flavouring which was mixed with fingers with other food. Then cakes, fruits, clarified butter and sugar were served.¹ After the guests had taken their meals tooth woods and pure water were supplied to them for cleansing the mouth. Sometimes a perfumed paste was given to rub hands with before washing in order to make them fragrant and clean.

The practice of drinking some liquid such as cold or warm water, whey, butter milk, and sour gruel is mentioned in the medical works.² After this liquid, betel leaves, with some fragrant spices, were taken as it was believed that it helped digestion, removed the phlegm and made the mouth fragrant.³ The practice of betel chewing was so common that it is mentioned in the Kāmasūtra in the account of the citizen.⁴ In the Harṣacarita we read that Sudṛṣṭi had his lips red with betel leaves.⁵ King Śūdraka also used to chew betel leaves after his midday

¹ Itsing. pp. 39-40.

² प्रनपानं हिमं वारि यवगोधमयोहृतम् । ४७
दध्नि मध्ये विषे क्षीरे कोज्ज्वले पित्तमयेषुतु ।
शाकमुद्गादि विषृती मस्तुतकाले काञ्जिकम् ।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 47-48.

³ Betel leaves are mentioned in the Raghu VI. 64 and betel nuts in Raghu XIII. 17.

ताम्बलं कटु सक्तारं हृष्ममृणं कफप्रश्नृत् । ८३
भेदि संमोहकृतं पूर्णं कयायं स्वादुरोचकम् ।
जातिपत्री कटुफलं कङ्कोलकं लवज्जकम् । ८४
लघु तृष्णापहं दृद्धं वक्त्रं दुर्गम्भनाशनम् ।
सस्थादु तिक्तस्तृष्णाप्त्वः कर्पूरस्त्वेदनोहिमः । ८५

Ast. Hr. XII. 83-85.

कामं प्रदीपयति रूपमभिव्यनक्तिं सौमाघ्यमावहृतिवत्तमुगन्धितांच
ऊर्जं करोति कफजांदवं निहन्तिरोगांस्तान्वूलमेवमपरांदवं गुणान्करोति ।
यूक्तेन चर्णेन करोति रागं रागं क्षयं पूर्णफलातिरिक्तम्
चूर्णाधिकं वस्त्रविगच्छकारि पवाधिकम् सापु करोतिगच्छम् ।
पवाधिकम् निहन्तिं राफलंदिवाच प्रोक्तान्वयाकरणमस्पविडन्वनेव
कनकालं पूर्णलवली कफपरिजातेरामोदितं मदमुदामुदितं करोति ।

Bṛhatsaṁhitā 77. 35-37.

C.f. Itsing IX. 39.

दीयते गणिका कामुकयोः सकर्पूरं ताम्बूलम् ।

Mṛcchakaṭīka IV.

Some fragrant spices such as comphor and cloves were also taken after meals to make the mouth fragrant (Harṣacarita. p. 21).

⁴ गृहीतमुखवारताम्बूलः.

Kamasutra I. 43.

⁵ Harṣacarita. p. 85.

meal.¹ Yuan Chwang received one hundred and twenty betel leaves and twenty betel nuts daily as part of his ration.² The practice of smoking a cigar prepared with fragrant substances is also mentioned.³ After the meals the rich avoided hard work⁴ and indulged in such enjoyments as listening to the conversation of parrots or *sārikās*, seeing the fights between quails, cocks or rams, or the shows of acrobats and clowns. Sometimes they also slept during the day.⁵

Children used to take some breakfast in the morning.⁶ The newly married couple were as before expected to avoid saline preparations.⁷ The Buddhist monks did not drink intoxicating drinks and avoided taking meals at forbidden hours.⁸ Their breakfast generally consisted of rice water, their lunch of rice, butter milk, fruits and sweet melons and they were permitted to have a light evening meal.⁹ Fahien also states that liquid food was permitted to monks at irregular hours.¹⁰ The *Vāyu Purāṇa* lays down that an ascetic should not be fond of taking only one

¹ परिषीतधूमवर्तिसप्तसूक्ष्म च गृहीत ताम्रूतः।

Kādambarī Para. 13.

² Beal Si-ju-ki.

³ See f. n. 1 above.

मृदुषीत धूमिताम्बर ग्राम्यं मण्डनञ्च विभ्राण।

परिषीतधूमवर्तिः स्थास्पति रमणान्तिके कुतन्।

Kuṭṭāṇīmatam.

कर्पूरगुरु चन्दनमृत्सा पूति श्रियंगवालं च

मांसी चेति नृपाणां योद्या रतिनाम धूमवर्तिः।

Nāgara Sarvasva.

Quoted by Dr. V.S. Agrawal in his 'Kādambarī Eka Sāṃskṛtika Adhyāya' p. 32. Chap. 13.

Carakā's reference to the preparation of the cigar (vide F.D.A.I. p. 163, f. n. 3 and the above quotations make it clear that it was a common practice among the rich.

⁴ See F.D.A.I. p. 193, f. n. 7.

⁵ भोजनान्तरं शुक सारिका प्रसाधनव्यापाराः। लावककुम्कुटमेययुद्धानि तास्तास्त्र कलाक्रीडाः। पीठमदं चिट विद्युक्यायता व्यापाराः।

Kamasutra, I. 4.8.

⁶ दारकाणां पूर्वभविकाम् भनुप्रयच्छति।

Divyavadana. p. 30. 20.

⁷ संगतयो दिव्यान्तमधः सम्या भ्रतचयं भारतवर्ण वर्जमाहारस्तथा सप्ताहैं सतूर्यमङ्गलस्नानम् प्रसाधनम् तह्योजनम्.....।

Kamasutra. 191. 1.

⁸ Itsing. Chapter X.

⁹ Itsing. pp. 26, 44, 117.

¹⁰ Legge—Fahien p. 44.

foodgrain nor should he take honey, meat and salt. He should not accept uncooked food.¹

A taboo against the use of certain vegetables such as onions and garlic is found even in this period.² The Purāṇas declare that *masūra*, linseed, *nīspāva*, *rājamaṣa*, *kusumbhika*, *kodrava*, *udāra*, gram, *kapittha* and *madhuka*, should not be used as articles of food.³ The Kātyāyana Smṛti lays down that vegetables, meat, *masūra*, gram, *koradūṣaka*, honey, some alkalies and sea-salt should not be used as food on the day of a fast.⁴ Generally rice boiled with *guda*, clarified butter, curds or rice alone were regarded as proper articles of food on the day of a fast.⁵

It appears that feasts were common during this period. In the friendly parties people enjoyed various kinds of intoxicating drinks, saline preparations, fruits, vegetables, sauces and condiments.⁶ At the time of the ceremony of laying the foundation of a house Brāhmaṇas were fed with clarified butter and milk rice and masters of dramatic art with rice cooked with *guda*.⁷ In the royal households the food was as before, examined to see whether it contained any poisonous substance before it was served.⁸ Fahien states that the kings of the states near Mathura

¹ यक्षमादपि हिसेत यदि मिलुः पशून् मृगान् ।
कृच्छ्राति कृच्छ्रं कुर्वति चान्द्रायणमयापिदा । १६।
एकान्नं मधुमासं वा हातम आदं तथैव च ।
यमोज्यानि यतीनां च प्रत्यक्षलवणानि च । १७।

Vayu. Pu. XVIII. 16, 20.

² Kurma Pu. Pt. II. Ch. XVII.

³ Matsya Pu. XV., Padma. Pu. Sīṣṭi. IX. 62-66.

⁴ शाकं मांसं भस्तुरज्ज्वलं चणकं कोरट्टपकान्
मायान् भघुवरामन्त्रं वर्जयेदोपवस्थ्येत् ।
सञ्जीवारं यवकारं टक्कणकारमेव च ।
इतस्योवर्जयेत्रित्वं सामुद्रं लक्षणं तथा ।

Katyayana Sm. 27.

⁵ गुडोदतं धूतं दधि रण्डुला आर्योग्नातश्च रसायनं सर्वभस्तीति ।

Mrechakatika. Act. I. p. 14.

⁶ तत्रमधुर्मर्तेय सुरासत्रान् विविधत्वण फलहरित शाकतित रुद्रकाम्लोपदंशान् वेश्याः पाययेवरनुदिवेयुद्ध ।

Kamasutra. I. 4.23.

⁷ Bharata. II. 41-42.

⁸ विरज्जति चकोरस्य दृष्टिः पर्यिवसत्तमः ।
विकृतिः च स्वरो याति कोकिलस्य तथा नप ।
मृतिः तस्मलति हंसस्य भृङ्गराजद्वच कूर्णति ।
कौञ्जचो मदमयाम्बोति शकवाकु विरौति च ।

Matsya. 219. 18-20.

used to take off their caps when serving food with their own hands to a community of monks and they sat on a carpet on the ground and not on couches.¹ In the Śrāddha feasts sesamum, meat of many animals, clarified butter, milk honey, sugarcane, juices of fruits such as mango, grapes and pomegranate, food grains such as *śyāmāka*, *sāli*, *nivāra*, *mudga* and barley were used while *masūra*, *nispāva*, *rājamāṣa*, *safflower*, lotus, *Bilva*, *kodrava*, *udāra*, gram, *kapittha*, linseed, milk of goats and sheep, some spices and vegetables were avoided.² The same food was served to all and all the relatives and servants were fed in such feasts.³ Poor people were permitted to perform these rites with fruits, roots, sesamum and water.⁴ Gift of uncooked food is

भोजमन्नं परीक्षार्थं प्रददात् पूर्वमन्नये।
वयोम्यश्च ततो दद्यात् तत्रलिङ्गानि सक्षयेत्।

Kamandaka. VII. 15.

¹ Legge—Fahien. Ch. XVI.

² श्रीहिमिश्चयवैमर्यैरद्विरूपैः फलेन वा।
दद्यामाकेश्च यदैः काशैर्नवारेश्च प्रियज्ञुभिः।
योधूर्मेश्चतिलैसुदृग्मसिं प्रीणयते पितृन्।
आमान् पानेरतानिश्चात् मृदीकांश्च सुदाडिमान्।
विदाश्वाश्च कुरुण्डंश्चत्राद्वाद्वाले प्रदापयेत्।
माजा भश्युयुता दद्यात्सकृन् शक्तरप्योराह।

पिष्ठली इष्टकम्बर्य तथा चैव मसूरकम्।
कूम्भाण्डालाबु वार्ताक तनुलीयकामेव च।
कुमुम्भं पिण्डमूलं वै तनुलीयक भेव च।
राजमार्णवस्तवाकीरं माहित्याव विवर्येत्।
आडवयःकोविदारांश्च पातक्या मरिचांस्तथा।
वर्जयेत्सप्तवर्णनेन आढकाले द्विजोत्तम।

Kurma. XX.

Markandeya Pu. 29.9-11., Visau. Pu. III. 16 C.f. Matsya Pu. XV. also XVII, Vayu. Pu. Ch. 78, 8-48 and Ch. 83, 3-9.

³ न पद्मस्य विषमं दद्यात्रयाचेत् न दापयेत्
भुञ्जीरमप्रतः श्रेष्ठं न ब्रूयः प्राहृतान्मुणान्
शातिष्वपि चंतुर्थेषु स्वान् भूत्यान् भोजयेत्ततः।
पश्चात् स्वयंचपरनीभिः शोषमन्नं समाचरेत्।

Kurma. XXII.

C.f. Matsya, XVIII. 57.62.

⁴ अपि मूर्खकलैवर्णपि प्रकुर्यान्निर्भनोद्विजः।
तिलोदकस्तपंयित्वा पितृन् स्नात्वा समाहितः।

Kurma. XXII.

permitted by a Sūdra.¹ Generally vessels made of gold, silver, or copper were used in a Srāddha by the rich.²

We can also form some idea of the food habits of the people during the period. The inhabitants of the east were mainly rice³ and fish eaters.⁴ They were fond of drinking *srāvā*,⁵ and alkaline substances suited them.⁶

The staple food grain of the people in the north was wheat,⁷ and women there drank liquors.⁸ The inhabitants of the south enjoyed boiled rice with tamarind.⁹ In the deserts the food of the people consisted of milk, curds and fruit of *karīra* tree. In Sindh fish was much eaten, in the *Aśmaka* country, oils and acidic substances, and in the Malaya region roots and tubers. The people of Konkaṇa were fond of fruit juices and the mountaineers of groats. The staple food of the inhabitants of Avanti was wheat, of the Bālhika region meat roasted on spits with sour gruel and roasted meat, wheat and grapes were the favourite food articles of the Greeks and Scythians.¹⁰ In Jhang and Montgomery districts (*Uśinara*) people were fond of drinking milk, while in *Gandhāra* people drank decoctions of various kinds.¹¹

There were certain people who lived in their homes but led the life of recluses. They did not join community feasts. Some did not take food offered even by the three higher castes.

¹ एवं शूद्रोपि तामाय वृद्धि आदेश्यि सवंदा।
नगस्कारेण मन्त्रेण कुर्यादामान्त्रतः यदा।

Matsya. Ch. 17, 70.

² सौवर्णं राजतं ताम्रं पितॄणां पात्रमुच्यते।
राजतं राजताक्तं वा पितॄणां पात्रमुच्यते।

Vayu. 74. 1.

³ Itsing. p. 43.

⁴ Bṛhaspati Sm. II. 10.

⁵ Kāśikāvṛtti on Pāṇini VIII. 4.9.

⁶ Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 232-234.

⁷ Itsing p. 45.

⁸ Bṛhaspati Sm. I. 129. F.D.A.I. p. 176 f. n. 7.

⁹ Dasakumaracarita. VI.

¹⁰ Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 232-234, Kāśikāvṛtti on Pāṇini VII. 4.9.

Aśmaka—the region between the Godavari and Mahishmati on the Narmada.

¹¹ Kāśikāvṛtti on Pāṇini VIII. 4.9.

कीरतानाः उचीनराः।

They probably cooked their own food.¹ It shows that restrictions about interdining were sufficiently rigid in this period.

Modakas were offered to the preceptor on the day of initiation of a pupil.² All guests such as teachers, pupils, disciples, strangers and friends were offered clarified butter, honey, sugar or one of the eight kinds of syrups which were allowed by the Buddha.³ Certain rules of etiquette were observed in the dinners of foreigners.⁴

In Kumarila's time Brāhmaṇa women in Ahicchatra (modern Ramnagar in Bareilly district) and Mathurā drank wine, the Brāhmaṇas of the north ate from the same plate with their wives, children and friends. Brāhmaṇas of the south took their meal sitting on couches, Brāhmaṇas both in the north and the south had no objection to taking cooked food that remained in pots after their friends and relatives had partaken of it. They had no objection to taking betel leaves touched by persons of all castes and many of them did not sip water after taking their meals.⁵ Food obtained by begging was considered as unwelcome as death itself while that obtained without begging was regarded as nourishing as nectar.⁶

To sum up the period under review was an era of great prosperity. It resulted in the further enriching of varieties of dishes. Some new preparations of wheat and a stuffing prepared with *mudga* were used. A considerable section of Hindu society had accepted vegetarianism as the normal way of life. Some of the Purāṇas prescribe vegetarian dishes even in a Srāddha where meat was obligatory before. But the Kṣatriyas relished meat dishes. A tasty meat soup called *Dakatāvapīka* was prepared. In some regions where civilization was not much advanced, such as in the Vindhya, people were mostly non-vegetarians.

On account of intercourse with foreigners and general prosperity the moral standards had gone down considerably even

¹ विवर्जितजनपद्मकलयः।
वर्णनय व्यावृत्ति विशुद्धापसः।

Harṣacarita. p. 39.

² Malavika. p. 81.

³ Takakusu—Itsing (1896) p. 125.

⁴ Ibid. Ch. XXXI and XXXV.

⁵ Tantravārtika.

⁶ Amar. Vaiśya. 3.

in the Madhyadeśa. The rich indulged in drinking. Even respectable women considered drinking wines a necessary embellishment. But the Brāhmaṇas generally drank syrups. Betel chewing was common. Some articles such as gram, and *māṣṭra* were still considered exotic and onions and garlic were avoided by respectable persons.

CHAPTER VII
FOOD AND DRINKS
(C. 750 To C. 1200 A.D.)

We get some information about food and drinks from Sanskrit and Prākṛta works which were written during the period C. 750 to C. 1200 A.D. Some of the Purāṇas and the Smṛtis which were written during this period also enable us to form an idea about the food habits of the people. But a detailed account of the dishes used during the period is to be found in the *Mānasollāsa*. It describes the various beverages used and narrates vividly the method of preparation of a number of vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes which were used in the royal households.

CEREALS AND PULSES

The works of this period mention all the food grains used in the earlier period.¹ A dish of hot fragrant rice, the grains of which were unbroken and separate from each other was eaten with great relish.² Rice cooked in the milk of a buffalo was also very popular.³ We come across some new preparations of wheat

¹ Kṣīrasvāmin mentions the following food grains:—

Vṛībi, jaua, masāra, godbhāra, mudga, māṣa, tila, canaka, aṇu, priyāṅgu, kodrava, makṣūpba, sāli, ḍābākī, kalāja, kūlatība and *ṣaṇa*.

C.f. Vijñāneśvara on *Yṣj.*, *Garuḍa*. VIII. 48.

The Śukranīti lays down that grains which are well developed, bright, best of the species, dry, new, good in colour, smell and taste should be stored by the king to meet the needs of the country for three years.

IV. 2. 27-29.

² Cooked rice.

ग्रमीलसद्वाष्पमस्तिष्ठिताक्षिलम् वियुतमन्योन्यमयुनतमाद्वम्

रसोत्तरं गौरमपीवरं रसाद्वभुञ्जतामोदनमोदनं जनाः।

Naishadha XVI. 68.

³ द्यामाक कङ्गमीवार गन्धसात्ति गुतण्डुतः। ३७३।

सरवेष्ठित सैवाकंदिवसै लघुविस्तृतः।

चिरप्रसूतमहिषीपयसा पायसं पचेत्।

such as *kasāra*¹ and *subālis*.² The latter were cakes of wheat flour fried in clarified butter and coated with sugar. If these cakes were not sufficiently hard they were called *Pābalikā*.³ The preparation of cakes of wheat flour has been described in detail in the *Mānasollāsa*. They are called *polikās* or *maṇḍakas*.⁴ Thread like preparation of wheat flour were called *sevikās*⁵ and thin round cakes of fine wheat flour placed one over the other before frying in oil were called *Patrikās*.⁶

¹ The Dhanvantari Nighantu calls wheat in this period the food of the Yavanas, but it is now extensively used.

Kasāra—

गुणाचारिया तद्दुधा खीरकर्जना कसारं सुतारं मुहालीमनुज्ज्ञा ।

Bhavi. XII. 3.

² तंलपूर्णकटाहेतुमुतप्ते सोहतांपचेत् उत्तानपाळं संसिद्धाः कठिना सोहलाः मताः ।
Manas. XIII. 1384.

See f. n. 1 above.

Bhavi. XII. 3.

³ *Pābalikā*

तंल मन्ना: मृद्यः पाहलिकाः स्मृताः ।

Manas. XIII. 1385.

⁴ *Maṇḍakas*—Wheat was washed, dried in the sun, ground, and cleaned in a sieve. The flour was mixed with clarified butter and salt and made into balls. The balls were turned into cakes with the palms of hands and were cooked in a pot-sherd. They were baked on live charcoals before eating. Sometimes a wooden roller and a piece of stone were used to change the balls into circular cakes before baking.

गोधूमाः कालिता शुभ्राः शोचिता रविरदिमभिः ।७५

व दृश्यूणिताः श्लश्चाचालन्या वित्तयोऽवृताः ।

गोधूमचूर्णं श्लश्चं किञ्चित्प्रथम विमिश्रितम् ।७६

लवणं च संयुक्तं शीरं तैरेणपिण्डितम् ।

सुमहत्यां कार्यात्मा करास्फालैविमर्दयेत् ।७७

मदितं चिक्कनीभूतं गोलकान् परिकल्पयेत् ।

स्नेहान्मक्तः करत्तेः शालिचूर्णैवस्तितान् ।७८

प्रसारयेत् गोलकांस्तान् करसङ्क्वारवत्तनं ।

विस्तुतामण्डकः श्लश्चानाः सितपृसमप्रभाः ।७९

प्रवत्नाभिक्षिपेत्तज्ज्ञास्तप्तास्तपेत्तमस्तके ।

पक्वादचापनयेच्छीं यावत्काञ्च्यं न जायते ।

चतुर्श्च चतुर्श्च चटिता भण्डका वराः ।

गोलान् प्रसारितान् पाणावङ्गरेपु विनिक्षिपेत् ।

Manas. III. 1375-81.

पदः विमर्दयेत् भण्डनाम्बरा वटाननेन्दुः पृथुसद्भुकस्तनी ।

पदं हृचेभूम्यभूजां भुजि विषा, प्रियावभूवोज्ज्वल करहरिणी ।

Naisadha. XVI. 107.

⁵ *Sevika*—Kathā Koṣaprakarana, Śālibhadra Kathā. p. 58, Vilāsavatī.

⁶ तनुं प्रसारितान्योसान् ताप्यां स्नेहेन पाचितान् ।८५।

उपर्युपरिनिक्षिप्ताः पक्वादचिपचेत् मुषीः ।८६।

Manas. III. 1383-86.

Gram now seems to have become a favourite food as its use is recommended by Somesvara in many vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes.¹ *Vidalapāka* was prepared with the pulse of gram, *rājamāṣa*, *masīra* or *rājamudga* mixed with slightly parched *ādbaki* pulse of which the outer covering was removed with a grinding stone and a winnowing basket. The mixture was cooked on slow fire. Water mixed with *asafoetida*, turmeric and rock salt was added to it.² A soup prepared with *mudga*, *asafoetida*, pieces of ginger, pieces of lotus stalks fried in oil or the seeds of *Priyāla* is also mentioned. Sometimes pieces of brinjal fried in oil or the pieces of meat of a sheep or jackal or the pieces of the marrow of an animal were also cooked with it. Some spices such as powder of black pepper, and dry ginger were mixed in the end.³ *Vatakas* prepared with *māṣa* flour, fried in clarified butter

¹ Split green grams are also mentioned in the preparation of food articles in the Ambasamudra Inscription of Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya of the ninth century A.D.

Epigraphia Indica Vol. IX. p. 92

² चणका राजमापादच भूता राजमुदणकाः ।
परद्वैर्दलिता कार्याः पाकार्थं हि विक्षणीः ।
किञ्चिद्भ्रष्टारतयादयो यन्त्रावर्तं द्विधारुताः ।
विदसी च कृताः सम्यक् शूर्पकंवितुषीकृताः । १० ।
स्थाल्या शीतोदकं क्षिप्तवा विदलं सममानतः ।
प्रावपेदिदलान्पचाच्चुत्यामारोपयेत् । ११ ।
मृदगिनपच्यमानेन्द्रितं हिणुतोवं विनिक्षिपेत् ।
वर्णार्थं रजनीनूर्णमीषलत्र नियोजयेत् । १२ ।
मुहूर्मुहूर्क्षिरेतोर्यं यावत्पाकस्य पूर्णता ।
मुशलशणं सौभार्यं कुल्याविश्वरयं न निक्षिपेत् । १३ ।

Manas. III. 1339-63.

³ प्रक्षालितान् वरान् मृदगान् समतोये विनिक्षिपेत् । १४ ।
भूत्यो मृदगिनापाकः कर्तव्यः सूपकारकः ।
पच्यमानेषु मृदगेषु हिणुवारिविनिक्षिपेत् । १५ ।
भ्राद्रैकस्य च खण्डानि सूक्ष्माणि च विनिक्षिपेत् ।
वाराकि पाटितं तेषे भृष्टं तत्र विनिक्षिपेत् । १६ ।
तेषमृद्या मृदभूताः विपोद् या विसच्चिकाः ।
दीजानि प्रियालस्य विप्रवादव्याविवर्तयेत् । १७ ।

.....
केचिदिच्छन्ति स्वच्छं मेषमांसस्य खण्डकान् । ७१ ।
वृक्कान् वापिद्विप्रामिश्रान् मेदतः शक्तानिवा ।

Manas. III. 1367-68.

Vataka—a kind of cake.

and dropped in milk were called *Kṣiravaṭa*.¹ A preparation of fermented fine flour of *māṣa* made into small circular balls was called *īdarikā*. It was fried in clarified butter, mixed with some spices such as black pepper and fumigated with asafoetida and cumin seeds.² Another preparation of *māṣa* flour was *Ghārikā*. These were round cakes with five or seven holes, fried in oil till their colour became red. When they had no holes they were called *Vāṭakas*. These *vāṭakas* were also dropped in sour gruel or churned curds with sugar. Sometimes sour gruel and well churned curds with some spices such as rock salt, ginger, coriander, cumin and black pepper were cooked to thick consistency and *vāṭakas* dropped into it. Some powder of black pepper was added to it and the mixture fumigated before use.³ For preparing *vāṭikās*, *māṣa* pulse was soaked in water, the outer covering

¹ भ्रसद्दृतं क्षीरवट्टस्तदसनताम् रराज पाकापित गैरिकश्चिदा ।

Naiṣadha. XVI. 98.

Manasa. XIII. 1594.

दुम्य मध्यक्षिप्तैमपिसापितैवटकास्यैः ।

Commentary Naiṣadha.

² See 'Studies in the History of Indian Dietetics', 'History of the Dishes, Idli and Dosa' by Dr. P.K. Gode in Dr. S.K. Chatterji Volume—1955.

मालीभूतम् माषपिटम् वटिकासु विनिशिष्टेत् ।

वस्त्रगम्भीरन्द्याभिः पिधाय परिपाचयेत् । १३६६ ।

प्रवतायत्र नरिंचं चूणिं चिकिरेदनु ।

घृताकृतो हिंगुरपित्तां जीरकेण च घूपयेत् । १४०० ।

सुशीता धवला रस्तका एता इहरिका वराः ।

Manas. III. 1399-1401.

C.f. Supāsanahacariyā, p. 485.

³ तस्यवमाषपिट्य गोलकान् विसृतान् घनान् । १ ।

पञ्चन्धिः सप्तभिर्भाषि छिद्रेन परिशोभितान् ।

तप्ततैले पचेद् यावल्लैहित्यं तेषु जायते । २ ।

पारिका संज्ञा स्वाता भक्षयेत् सुमनोहराः ।

तिन्जिद्वा: वारिका: पक्वा मध्यिते शर्करायुते । ३ ।

एलामरिचसंयुक्ते निशिप्ता वटकाभिधाः ।

त एव वटकाः क्षिप्ताः काञ्चित्के काञ्जिकाभिधाः । ४ ।

यत्र यत्र द्रवद्रव्ये तन्नाम्ना वटकास्तु ते ।

शारनालेन सान्द्रेण दध्ना सुमधितेन च ।

संन्धवाद्वक्षान्याकजीरकं च विमिश्ययेत् ।

मरिचानि द्विषा हृत्वाक्षिप्तात्र तु पाकवित् ।

दर्प्णा विषदृग्भृत् सर्वं पचेद् यावद् चनीभवेद् ।

उत्तार्य वटकान् क्षिप्त्वा विकिरेत्मरिचं रजः ।

हिङ्गुना घूपयेत् उम्बर् वटकास्ते मनोभिधाः ।

Manas. III. 1401-1418.

removed and the pulse ground on a piece of stone. Some spices were mixed in it and the mixture, after churning well with hands, was allowed to ferment for a few days. Then they were formed into small balls and dried. They were cooked whenever required.¹

In the preparation of the dish called *Kaṭakarma*, pulse of *vattānaka* (pea) soaked in water was ground and fumigated with clarified butter after adding rock salt. The powder of *Nispāva* was then mixed with it and the mixture made into round cakes which were fried in oil.² *Pūrika* was a cake of gram flour fried in oil. Sometimes the pulse was boiled a little before grinding and some spices such as salt, black pepper, cardamom, asafoetida and sugar were mixed in the ground pulse before frying.³ *Vesṭikā* was a preparation of gram pulse mixed with some spices covered with fine wheat flour and cooked in a pot-sherd. Sometimes ground *māṣa* and *mudga* pulses were used instead of gram pulse.⁴ *Dhosakas* are also prepared with the same ingredients

¹ मापस्य विदलान् विलान् निसुग्नान् हस्तलोटनः । १७।

ततः सम्ब्रेष्य पेषण्डां संभारेण विनिश्चितान् ।

स्थात्यां विमर्श बहुशः स्थापयेतदा हस्ततः । १८।

अम्लीभूतं माषपिण्ठं बटिकासु विनिश्चिपेत् ।

Manas. III. 1397-99.

² वट्टानकस्य विदलं च विदलं चणकस्य च । १३६४।

चूर्णितं वारिणा सार्धं सर्पिष्या परिभावितम् ।

संत्वेन च संयुक्तं कण्ठुना परिष्ठ्रितम् । १३६५।

निष्पावचूर्णसंयुक्तं पेषण्डां च प्रसारितम् ।

कटाहे तैलसंपूर्णे कटकर्णिन् प्रपाचयेत् । १३६६।

यावद्वद्वद्वद् संकाशा भवन्ति कनकत्विषः ।

Manas. III. 1394-97.

³ उत्तवास्य विदलान् पिष्ट्या चणकप्रमृतीन् शुभान् ।

हिन्दु संन्धवसंयुक्तान् शकरापरिभितान् ।

मरिर्जसाविचूर्जनं युक्तान् गोलकवेष्टितान् ।

किञ्चित् प्रसारिते तंले पूरिका विषचूभाः ।

एवं ताप्यां पचेदन्याः पूरिकाश्च विषक्षणाः ।

Manas. III. 1388-90.

⁴ हरिगन्धस्य विदलं हिन्दुजीरकमिश्चितम् ।

लड्येन च संयुक्तमार्द्धकेण समन्वितम् ।

वेष्टवित्वा गोलकेन वेष्टिका संपर्णे पचेत् ।

Manas. III. 1391-92.

मोपूर्ण चूर्णधनवेष्टित माषमूद्ग ।

पिष्टं सुपक्षमिति वेष्टनिका वदन्ति ।

Susēpa. 31.

as *vesṭikā*.¹

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Milk was now used in various forms. When half the quantity was evaporated it was drunk. In case it was reduced to one third of the original quantity it became a dish that could be licked. When one sixth of the original quantity remained it was used for preparing sweets and when only one eighth remained it was called *Sarkārā*.² Milk was also used in the preparation of some sweets such as *ksīraprakāra*, *kriravata* and *ksīrayaṣṭikā* of which we read for the first time.³ Curds prepared from the milk of those buffaloes, whose calves were fully grown up were regarded as very tasty.⁴ Curds were given different names according to the quantity of water mixed.⁵ Curds churned and mixed with sugar and fumigated with camphor were also used.⁶

Whey was taken with rock salt and some spices such as cumin

¹ विद्लं खणकस्येवं पूर्वतं भारसंस्फृतम् ।६२।
ताप्यां तैळे विलिप्तायां धोसकान् विपचेद्वृथः ।
भायरस्य राजमाषस्य वट्टागस्य च धोसकान् ।६३।
प्रनेन्द्रं प्रकारेण विपचेत् पाकतत्ववित् ।

Manas. III. 1392-94.

It was the same preparation as we call *Dose* now. See reference to *Idit* above.

² अधर्विशिष्टं पाने स्यात् विभागं लेहूकम् ।
दद्भागं पिष्टतामेति शर्करा स्यादधःष्टमे ।

Manas. III. 1567.

A variety of scenes common in a dairy farm in this period are described in the *Yasastilaka* (p. 184).

³ गुद्धोदनं पायतं च हृविष्यं क्षीरयष्टिकम् ।
दध्योदनं हविः पूपान्मांसं चित्रान्मेत्रं च ।

Agri. Pu. 163. 10.

⁴ हयद्विष्टुक्यायणीपयः सुतं सुधाहदान् पङ्किमिवोदृतं दधि ।
Naiṣadha. XVI. 93.

⁵ *Matbita* were curds churned without water, *udasvit* curds with equal quantity of water and *takra* with water one fourth of the quantity of curds.

निर्जलं नयितं प्रोत्तमुदस्तित्याश्च जलार्धकम् ।
पादाम्बु तक्रमुदिष्टं धूपितं हिम्मूजीर्खः ।
भाद्रकेण रामायुक्तमेलासैन्धवचूर्णितम् ।

Manas. III. 1571-72.

⁶ मयितं शर्करायुक्तमेलाचूर्णविमिश्रितम् ।
कर्तृरघूपितनामा मज्जिकेत्यनिधीयते ।

Manas. III. 1573.

and ginger.¹ But *Rasālā* continued to be the most popular preparation of curds.² *Temana* was a soup of curds.³ A special preparation of curds with black mustard was much liked.⁴ Butter was clarified with wheat and betel leaves before being used in cooking and frying food articles.⁵ Somadeva also describes the properties of clarified butter, curds, butter and milk.⁶

MEAT DIET

Along with vegetarian dishes meat preparations were quite popular. The *Purāṇas* prescribe the meat of clean animals for feeding Brāhmaṇas in a *Srāddha*.⁷ Brāhmaṇas relished the flesh

¹ सावितं यद्यते तोयं जीरकार्द्धकरोचयं ।
हंयुक्तं हिङ्गु भूपेन भूपितं मस्तु कीर्तितम् ।

Manas. III. 1575.

² निष्ठीद्य दधिवस्त्रेण स्नावयेतदगतं जलम् ।
शकरंसारमायुक्ता सूर्यं शिशरिणी मता ।

Manas. III. 1574.

Cf. Bhavisayatta XX., Kav. Mim. XVIII. p. 107.

³ कसायं विसातीवणातिक्षसारा गुडेणपिगाढा जईणपियारा ।
Bhavisayatta, XII.

⁴ न राजिकाराद्धमभोजि तत्कर्मुक्तेन सीत्कार रुतादधद्वधि ।
भूतोत्तमाज्ञै कटुभावपाटवादकापृष्ठकपूष्टिमूष्टितानुभिः ।

Naisadha XVI. 73.

⁵ नवनीतं नवंधीरं नीरलेशविवर्जितम् ।
तापयेदनिना सम्यक् मुदुनाष्टत भाष्टके ।
पाके समूर्णतां याते क्षिपेद् गोषूमबीजकम् ।
क्षिपेत्तामूलपत्रं च पश्चादुत्तारपेदवृतम् ।

Manas. III. 1577.

⁶ Yaśastilaka III. 360-63.

⁷ हृष्यकव्यनियुक्ती तु भृशी पाठीन रोहिती ।
मांसाशिभिरस्त्वमीभव्याः शश शत्लक कञ्जपाः । १४।
द्वाविद् गोधे प्रशस्ते च ज्ञातादच मृगपश्यिणः ।
आदुष्णामैः स्वर्गकामैस्त्वयाज्यं भासं प्रयत्नः । १५।
यज्ञार्थं पशुहिंसा या सा स्वर्णी नेतरा क्वचित् ।

प्राणात्यये त्रौ श्राद्धे भेदजे विप्रकाम्यया ।
पत्तील्यभिर्यं पललं भलयम्बेव दोषभाक् । १६।
पश्चाथं बहुणा सृष्टाः पशुद्वयमृगीषधीः ।
निष्वन्नहिसको विप्रस्तासाम्पि शुभागतिः । १७।
पितृदेवत्रतुहर्ते मधुपकर्विभेव च ।
तत्र हिंसाप्यहिंसास्पाद्यांशिसान्यत्रमुदुत्तरा ।

Skanda. Pu. Kāśī. 4. 14-20.

Cf. Agni Pu. 163. 1-32, 168. 20-21., Padma Pu. Adi. 56. 40-4.

of buffaloes and took dressed fish.¹ The Kṣatriyas enjoyed eating meat preparations such as dressed fish, roasted sheep.² Sometimes meat was so dressed that it resembled the shape of a *Bimba* fruit.³ Fragrant and tasteful curries of fish, venison, birds and flesh of goats were very much liked.⁴ In the cold season people relished eating pork along with newly husked rice while the essence of deer and quails is mentioned among the dainties used in the summer season.⁵

Many animals such as sheep, goats, gazelles, hares, rhinoceros, buffaloes, fish, birds, sparrows, ring doves, francolin doves, peacocks and pigs were killed for food.⁶ People generally abstained from the meat of cows, horses, mules, asses, camels, elephants, tame poultry, crows, parrots, nightingales and all kinds of eggs.⁷ But in times of scarcity even the flesh of forbidden animals was used for food.⁸ Someśvara describes in detail how meat should be dressed and flesh of which part of the body should be used and of which part avoided. The method of removing the hair of a pig is also described.⁹ He describes in detail the method of preparing a number of meat dishes. *Suptakas* were prepared from the body of a pig roasted on fire. After roasting, the body was cut into pieces and the pieces again roasted on charcoals.

¹ Samaraiccakshā pp. 258, 260, 473.

² Ibid. pp. 258, 262.

Kumārapāla was much addicted to flesh eating in his youth and during his wanderings he chiefly maintained himself on flesh.

बासताऽवितुहृदेत निष्पमर्षं त बलन्होमहृषं ।

महृषाहित्तेष तया कथाइदेतं दराइतए ।

Mohatājaparājaya.

³ इतीरिणे विम्बपालं पलच्छलादायिविम्बाधरयारुच्छतर् ।

Naiṣadha XVI. 95.

‘व्यधुतमां ते मृगमांससाधितं रसादशित्वा मृदुतेमनं मनः ।

निशाधबोत्सङ्गकुरङ्गनंरदः पलं रापीयूपजलैः क्रिमश्रपि ।

Naiṣadha XVI. 76.

अराधि यन्मीनमृगाजपत्रिंशः पलंमुदुस्वादु सुगन्धितेमनम् ।

Naiṣadha XVI. 87.

⁴ सहकाररसाचिता रसाला जलमन्तं फलपाकानिमन्थाः ।

मृगलावरसाः सूतं च दुर्घं स्मर सञ्जीवनमीदधर्मिनिदाषे ।

Kav. Mim. XVIII. 107.

⁵ Al Masudi.

⁶ Al Beruni Ch. 68.

⁷ Kathāsaritsāgara. III. 9-10.

⁸ Mānasollāsa. III. 15. 43-47.

They were eaten with rock salt and black pepper.¹ Sometimes a broth was also prepared with *Sunthakas*. The broth was fumigated with aromatic spices.² *Sunthakas* were sometimes cut into pieces resembling palm leaves. These pieces were dropped into curds mixed with sugar and some aromatic spices were added. Pulp of citron was also mixed with *sunthakas* and they were eaten after fumigation. In this form they were known as *Cakkalikā*.³ Sometimes green gram was pounded with spices. The whole thing was fried after mixing with good pieces of flesh. Tender *Nispāva*, berries, pieces of onions and garlic were mixed with the fried mixture. The whole thing was dropped in some sour juice and fumigated before eating.⁴ Flesh of sheep, carved into the

¹ आजानु सन्धि मूलाद्विघतणः प्रच्छाद्य तं देहेत् । ३०।
कटिनत्वमुपायात शात्येविमंसैः जलैः।
पाष्ठुर् विससङ्कृत्य संस्थापितं कटे । ३१।
आमृद्धं प्रस्थापयति कर्तिकापरिपाटितम् ।
साराकानकरेखाम्याचित्पव्यतस्यायाम शुष्ठकान् । ३२।
चतुर्वर्षीकृतान्वष्टान् शूलप्रोतान् प्रदापयेत् ।
शङ्खारेष प्रभुतेषु षृतं विनुस्त्रावावधि । ३३।
पद्माः मरिचचार्णते विकिरेत्संध्यततः ।
श्यवामलपरिस्वन्नान् पूर्ववत् परिकल्पयेत् । ३४।
श्यवा रातिरात्कृत्वात्यक् शपान्तस्वचान्वितान् ।
भृजेदङ्गारपुञ्जेषु शुष्ठकानमृतोपमान् । ३५।

Manas. III. 1430-35.

² प्रविष्यद्युष्टकांस्तत्र मृदुकुर्वच्च पापातः ।
भाविताद्वरसैः सर्वैः सिद्धानुत्तारयेद् बुधः ।

Manas. III. 1447-48.

³ हिंसानां शुष्ठकानां च मेदोभागं प्रशृण्ण च ।
ताडपत्रतमाकाराः कृत्वा चक्कलिकाः शभाः । ३६।
मधिते शर्कराद्युबते दधन्येलाविमित्रयते ।
कर्म्मत्वासिते तत्र रुच्याश्लकलिकाः त्विपेत् । ३७।
मांसमेदोभयानशुष्ठान् पूर्ववच्छकलीहन्तान् ।
मधिते राजिकायुनते मातुलिङ्गकेतरे । ३८।
घूपिते हिङ्गुना सम्प्यक् धन्तिचक्कलिकाः त्विपेत् ।
घृते वा चक्कलीमृद्वा किरेदेला सशकं राम् । ३९।
श्यवा मातुलिङ्गस्य सुप्रवस्य च केसरैः ।
मूर्खैराद्वक्कलप्त्तरच केसराम्लैमंनोहरैः । ४०।
चणितं मरिचं राजिसंन्धवैभिन्धयेततः ।
हिङ्गुना धूपिताः साम्ला हृष्याद्वक्कलिका वराः ।

Manas. III. 1436-41.

⁴ चणकस्य रुमान् लक्षणान्कल्पयित्वा विच्छयणः ।
निशा जीरक तीशाद्वैशुष्टीधान्यक हिङ्गमिः । ४१।
शूणितमैस्तवित्वा तास्तात्तरंले विनिक्षिपेत् ।
समानादिरुक्तप्तांश्च चन्दनान् हरितानपि । ४०।

shape of plums mixed with some powdered spices and grams and fried in oil with the pieces of such vegetables as brinjal, radish, onions, ginger and sprouted *mudga* beans, was known as *Kavacandi*.¹ Pieces of clean meat chopped into the form of big *Amalakas* were cooked with spices. This liquid preparation was again cooked with some acid fruits, *sunthakas*, spices and rock salt. It was then fumigated with spices such as garlic and asafoetida. This preparation was known as *Puryalā*.²

When pieces of clean meat, bored with some holes and filled with spices, were roasted on spits and some spices were mixed with them they were called *Bhaḍitraka*. Sometimes *Bhaḍitrakas* were dried after cooking and then fried in ghee.³ Flesh

स्तनशमासः दिष्टेत्कोलं निष्पावान्कोभल्लानपि ।
पलाष्टद्वक्तान्वापि लगुन्वाऽपि निकिपेत् । ५१ ।
एवं पूर्वोदितं सूदः प्रयुच्यन्नीत दयाश्चि ।
शोषितेऽम्लरसे पश्चात् सिद्धमुतार्थ्यूपयेत् । ५२ ।

Manas. III. 1449-52.

¹ बद्धराकारस्त् खण्डान् पूर्ववच्छूलिपिशितान् ।
आर्द्रांकांस्तत् प्रमाणाद्वच पक्वतेले दिपा वयेत् । ५३ ।
वार्ताक्षकलाद्वच्य भूलकस्य च खण्डकान् ।
पलाष्टद्वार्द्वक सम्भूतान् मुद्गाक्षुर विनिमितान् । ५४ ।
बटकान्निपेतत्र मेषकस्य च वर्णकम् ।
कासमर्देन संयुक्तं पलान्यन्दानि कानिचित् । ५५ ।
सुचिदं शासयेद्वैर्नानारसविमितिम् ।
गताद्व्यसमेता सा कवचन्दी भवेष्टुमा । ५६ ।

Manas. III. 1453-56.

² स्थूलामसक्तस्त्वादान् शुद्धमासस्य खण्डकान् ।
क्षायदेवद्रिजिका तोर्यन्निगराद्वक्षयेत् । ५७ ।
आस्थापयेत्तज्जलं पात्रे रिक्ते चास्तर्विपाचयेत् ।
तत्समाच्याप्तकान् शिष्टत्वा संन्धवं तत्रयोजयेत् । ५८ ।
मेषाक्षणकं तत्र वान्याकस्य च पूलिकाम् ।
निविष्योत्तारदेत्तमूदो भूतं वान्यत्रतापयेत् । ५९ ।
सुतप्ते च चूते पदचल्लशुनं हित्तुतसह ।
प्रशिष्य संस्कृतं मांसं तस्यां स्थाल्यां प्रवेशयेत् । ६० ।
पिहितं च ततः कुरुते किञ्चित् कालं प्रतीक्षय च ।
उत्तारयेत्तः सिद्धं पूर्यंलाल्यमिदंवरम् । ६१ ।

Manas. III. 1457-61.

³ पृष्ठवंशसमुद्भूतं शुद्धं मांसं प्रगृहते ।
घनसात्रप्रमाणानिशुल्ता खण्डानि मूलकैः । ६२ ।
दिष्टातु यहुत्तस्तानि दहुरधाणि कारयेत् ।
हित्तवाद्वकरसेवृक्तं संन्धवेन च पैषयेत् । ६३ ।
मूलप्रोतानिशुल्ता तान्वज्ञारेषु प्रतापयेत् ।
घरेन सिञ्चेत् पाकज्ञो वारं वारं विवर्तयेत् । ६४ ।
सिद्धेषु मारिच चूर्णं विकिरेत् संन्धवान्वितम् ।

of sheep dressed into the shape of betel nuts with some blood was known as *Kṛṣṇapāka*.¹ *Vaṭakas* of pasted meat prepared with roasted and spiced meat inside were called *Bhāṣikā*. Sometimes these *Vaṭakas* were covered with grains of rice and roasted and called *Koṣāli*.² Sometimes fruits such as brinjal were filled with pasted meat and fried in oil.³ Pasted meat was also formed into the shape of balls and roasted on fire or fried in oil. Liver of an animal was also cooked with some spices and called *Pāka*-

नामना भट्टिकं रुच्यं लघुपद्यं मनोहरम् ।६५।

योपयित्वाद्वयं सर्वं धूतेन परिपर्वयेत् ।

सिपेच्च भरिच्च भृष्टे सूदोहृष्टभट्टिवके ।६६।

Manas. III. 1462-65.

¹ पूर्णीकलप्रनाणानि कुत्वा सप्तानि पूर्ववत् ।

संस्कृयत् पूर्वं च्छूर्णेरम्लैश्च परिपाचयेत् ।७३।

स्तोकावशेषपाकेस्मिन् व्यस्तं रक्तं विनिक्षिपेत् ।

पूर्णं पाके समृतायं धूपयेद्धिङ्गीरकः ।७४।

कर्पूरचूर्णकं तस्मिन् एलाचूर्णनं तंयुतम् ।

विकिरेन्मरिचैवृकं कृष्णपाकमिदं वरम् ।७५।

Manas. III. 1473-75.

² भज्ञारभृष्टकं मांसं धूडे पट्टे निधापयेत् ।

कर्त्तया तिलाः कुत्वा मातुलिङ्गस्य केलर्तः ।७६।

शाद्रंकः केसराम्लैश्च गृज्जनंस्तत् प्रमाणिकः ।

जीरकीर्मरिचः पिष्टः हिङ्गसंन्धवचूर्णकः ।७७।

मिश्रपित्वा तु तन्मांसं हिङ्गुभूपैन वासयेत् ।

आमं मांसं च वेष्या हिङ्गुतोयेन सेचितम् ।७८।

चूर्णितं च यन्मांसं गोलकैस्तद् विवेष्टयेत् ।

चूर्णगभीश्च वटकान् प्रशिपेदाणके चुम्भे ।८०।

स्थातास्तो मांसवटका रुच्या दृश्या मनोहरा ।

त एव वटकास्तैलपवयाः स्वर्भूषिकामिधाः ।८१।

तदेव चूर्णितं मांसं कणिकापरिवेष्टितम् ।

प्रज्ञारेषु तथा भृष्टे कोशलीति निगदते ।८२।

Manas. III. 1476-1482.

³ वातीकं वृत्तदेशस्य रामीपे कृतरस्यकम् ।

निष्कासितेषु बीजेषु तेन मासेन पुरितम् ।८३।

तंलेन पाचितं किञ्चिदाणके परिपाचयेत् ।

दूरभट्टकरुंगं तस्त्रादुना परिपाचयेत् ।८४।

कोशातकीफलेष्वर्च मूलकस्य च कन्दके ।

पुरिते चूर्णमार्देन तत्त्राम्ना तु कर्वते ।८५।

Manas. III. 1483-1485.

sarpa.¹ *Susshakas* were also prepared with entrails.² The entrails of an animal filled with spices and marrow and roasted on charcoal were called *mandaliya*.³ Liver chopped in the shape of betel nuts and roasted on charcoals and fried with spices was also used by dropping these pieces into a solution of black mustard or curds.⁴ Dried and roasted meat such as seasoned fish, roasted tortoises, fried crabs and a tasty meat soup, all were used as food.⁵

¹ भासं पासं तुष्पिष्टं तु केसरादिविभित्तम् ।
वट्कीकृत्य तेलेन तप्तेन परिपाचयेत् । ६६।
भाषके च क्षिपेत्तस्तापयेद्वा विभावती ।
नाम्ना वट्टिमकं ततु त्रिप्रकारमुदीरितम् । ६७।
गन्त्राणि सण्डाः हृत्वा कालखण्डं तथाकृतम् ।
वापिप्रकालितं रुत्वा लच्छितान् समरूपतः । ६८।
राजिकाकल्पदिग्धांस्तांस्तोवमिभान् विपाचयेत् ।

किञ्चिच्चन्धेयं द्रवं ततु समुत्तायं विष्णुयेत् ।
पञ्चवर्णाति विष्ण्याता नानास्परसावहा । ६९।

Manas. III. 1486-1491.

² गन्त्राणि जलधीतानि शलयध्यां विवेष्येत् ।
तापयेच तथाङ्गारंयावत् कठिनतां यवुः । १४६२।
पश्चाद्विचूणितं इलक्ष्मं संघर्वं तेषु योजयेत् ।
गन्त्रशुष्कमास्यात् चर्वणे मर्मरारवम् । १४६३।

Manas. III. 1492-93.

³ मेदाः इत्येण सण्डानि लिप्त्वा सर्वविलोदयेत् । ६५।
अन्तं प्रशासितं वयनारोने रसेन पूर्तिम् ।
पेटकाकृति युक्ता सुकम्भ्रासु परिवेष्येत् । ६६।
कन्द्रामुखानि वध्नीयात् केवलैर्नवकैस्तथा ।
तंरेव रज्जुसङ्काशं ग्हीत्वोगरि तापयेत् । ६७।
गङ्गारैः किञ्चकाकारंयावत् काठिन्यमानुयुः ।
मङ्गलीयं समास्याता राजवृक्षफलोपमा । ६८।

Manas. III. 1494-1498.

⁴ गङ्गारेणु तथाभृष्ट्वा कालखण्डं विकृत्य च ।
पूर्णीकलप्रमाणेन सण्डान् कृत्वा विचक्षणः । १५०२।
तेलेनाभ्यञ्जय तान् सवर्णं भरिचाजाजिसुन्धवेः ।
चर्वितं विकिरेत् पश्चाद्विगुण्डयेन धपयेत् । ३।
अनेन विधिना भृष्ट्वा राजिकाकल्पलेपितान् ।
कालखण्डान् प्रकुर्वति दध्ना राजिकायायवा । ४।

Manas. III. 1499-1504.

⁵ कोठदेयोद्भवं मासमस्या सह विलिष्टम् ।
प्रसकीकरत्वसंयुक्तं पास्वर्गुत्प्या समन्वितम् । ७।
उत्तवादित्विदं सुरं व्याप्तं द्वास्त्रविधारदेः । १५०६।
मत्स्यांश्च सण्डाः हृत्वा चतुरङ्गसं सम्मितान् ।
लवणेन समावृत्तान् कुम्भेषु * परिपूरयेत् । १७।

From the above account and description of the food habits of the Tāntrikas in the Yaśastilaka¹ and other contemporary works it is obvious that meat eating was common in certain sections of the society, specially, perhaps among the Kṣatriyas. But we find also large sections of society which had taken to vegetarianism partly on religious and partly perhaps also on hygienic grounds. Among such people even when an animal was to be sacrificed in a religious rite to propitiate a god it was replaced by the image of an animal made of flour.² Somadeva wonders how people who seek their own welfare hope to increase their own flesh with the flesh of others. Just as one's own life is dear to one, similarly the life of another is dear to him. One should, therefore, refrain from destroying animal life.³ According to him animals must not be killed for the purpose of worshipping gods or the manes, for entertaining one's guests, in any mystic rite or for medicinal purposes.⁴ Similar ideas are expressed by another Jain writer Amitagati who considers taking poison better than meat eating.⁵ Even some of the Purāṇas of this period lay down that slaughter of animals is not necessary for sacrifices

भोजनावसरे सूदो वहिना परिमञ्जेत् । ३४।
 कच्छान् वहिना भृष्टा पादाश्चलारच मोचयेत् । ३७।
 प्रमत्तरेत्वं विपच्चाथ तेलेन आज्ञेन वा पुनः ।
 पाचयेद्द मुसिद्दास्तान् चूर्णकैवचूर्णयेत् । ३८।

Manas. III. 1507-1539.

Also see Manas. III. 1540-1542.

¹ Description of the temple of Caṇḍamārlī known as Mahābhairava in Book I.

² Samaraicca Kahā, pp. 210-213.

Yaśastilaka Book IV. Caṇḍamārlī persuades Yaśodhārā to sacrifice a cock made out of flour.

³ तत् स्वस्य हितमिच्छन्तो मुञ्चन्त इच्छाहृतं मुहुः ।
 प्रन्यमासः स्वमासस्य कथं बृद्धिविधायिनः ।
 स्वकीयं जीवितं यद्यत् सर्वस्य प्राणिनः प्रियम् ।
 तद्वदेतत्परस्परापि ततो हिसापरित्पज्जेत् ।

Yaśastilaka. p. 330.

⁴ देवतायं पित्र्यं मन्त्रीयथभयाय वा ।
 न हिस्पात् प्राणिनां सर्वान्हिसानाम तद्वदम् ।

Yaśastilaka p. 335.

⁵ वरंविदं च नितमुपदोषं यदेकवारं कुष्ठतेऽसुनाशम् ।
 मासं महादुखमनेकवारम् ददाति जर्घम् मनसापि पुंसाम् ।

Subhāṣita Sandoha 21.16.

in the Kali age.¹ They prescribe the use of *māṣa* beans instead of meat preparations.² On the authority of Al Masudi we can say that the Brāhmaṇas generally avoided meat diet. Al. Idrisi states that the people of Anhilwārā ate rice, pea beans, *māṣa*, *masūra*, and fish and animals which had died a natural death because they did not kill birds and animals.³ Rājaśekhara mentions eating of pork among the practices of uncultured people.⁴ It is stated that king Kumārapāla prohibited slaughter of animals under severe penalties and he himself built Tribhuvanīhāra and thirty-two other temples for expiation of the sin of flesh eating to which he was addicted before his conversion to Jainism.⁵

HONEY AND SWEETS

Honey was not so widely used as in the previous period. The Purāṇas mention *guḍa* (treacle) and raw sugar (*sarkarā*) and not honey among the sweet things.⁶ The Jains avoided the

परमारितशीतानां पितितं योगी खादति ।
इहाभुग्य च दुःखानां पठते: सोपिभाजनम् ।
यैरिष्वदधर्मवृद्धैर्व भक्षयते स्वर्गकाम्यात् ।
कालकूटे विषनूनमधुस्ते जीविताधिनः ।

Upamitibhavaprapāṇī kathā, p. 627.

¹ नदयादामिषं श्राद्धे न चाचाद्भूमत्ववित् ।
भूत्यन्नं स्यात्परात्रीतिर्यचा न पशुहृष्टस्या ।

Bhāgavata Pu. VII. 15.7.

² भूतो भावाक्षमेवत्नमांसार्थे ब्रह्मणाकृतम् ।
पितरस्तेनतृष्णिति श्राद्धंकुर्वन् न तदिना ।
यदा बलिष्ठं मांसत्वान्नापान्नमपि तत्समम् ।
सौगतिकं च स्वादिष्टं मधुरं द्रव्यं भवेदतः ।

Prajāpati Sm. 152-53.

³ History of Medieval India Book 2, p. 192.

⁴ इभुदण्डस्य भण्डस्यदानःपिष्ठकृतस्य च ।
वाराहस्य च मांसस्य संष गच्छति फल्गुनः ।

Kāvyamīmāṃsā VIII. p. 39.

⁵ एवं रायणाकाराविद्विहृष्णविहारस्तिवेदनं ।

Moharājaparājaya IV. p. 93.

⁶ मृतश्च पञ्चमादूर्ध्वमवतः सप्रतीर्पिवा ।
पायसेन गुडेनापि पिण्डान् दद्याद् दशकमात् ।

Garuḍa Pu. 10.96.

गुडाद्यं शान्तिमाज्जोति ज्ञीरेण च तथायतम् ।
पायसेन वर्णं चांचुमत्या: प्रजायते ।

Viśṇudharmottara Pu. II. 63.8.

Cf. Viśṇudharmottara Pu. II. 314. 11-12.

गुडशर्करमस्यह्यो देयं काणितमुभुरम् ।
गव्यं पयो दधि चृतं तंलञ्च तिलसंभवम् ।

Brahma Purāṇa.

use of honey on the ground that it was pressed out of the young eggs in the womb of bees and resembled the embryo in the first stage of its growth.¹ The *Paundra* variety of sugarcane was grown near Rājagṛha.² Sugar is also mentioned as an important article of food in the Ambasamudra Inscription of Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya (ninth century A.D.) In the *Naiṣadha Carita* the whiteness of sugar has been compared to a stream of snow.³

The act of preparing sweets is considered an art⁴ and many new sweets are mentioned. *Kāsāra* was a preparation of wheat flour, milk, clarified butter, crystal sugar, cardamom and black pepper.⁵ A preparation of wheat flour stuffed with *kāsāra* was called *udumbara*.⁶ A sweet preparation of wheat flour, *gūḍa* and some spices such as black pepper and cardamom was called *murmura*.⁷ *Modakas* prepared with rice flour, sugar and some aromatic spices such as cardamom and camphor were called *Varṣopalagolakas* because they looked like hailstones.⁸ Some-

¹ मञ्जिकागर्भसंभूतब्राह्मणविनिपीडनात् ।

जातं मधुकवंसन्तःसेवन्ते कललाकृतिः ।

Yāśastilaka p. 331.

² Raviṣeṇa—*Jaina Padma Purāṇa* Ch. II.

³ ग्रनीभिराकण्ठमभोग्य तदगृहे तुपारथाया मृदितेवशकंरा ।

Naisadha XVI. 93.

⁴ *Sukranīti*. IV. 3. 143.

⁵ ता केर ऊण कंसारतात्पुड़ खंजुयविसमोवगं गोसे उवणोमिएवादम् ।

Samaraicca. p. 187.

सुसंमिश्रो.....कासारो ।

Samaraicca. p. 189.

कसारं सुसारं गुहाली गणुज्ज्वा ।

Bhavisayatta XII. 3.

गोधूमचूर्णादुदूरय गूर्जेणाम्याहतान् कणान् ॥६॥

दुर्घाकान् घृतपवांश्ल तिरया च विमिवितान् ।

एकामरिचचूर्णेन युक्तान् कासारसंगितान् ।

Manas. III. 1386-87.

⁶ गोलकेन समावेष्ट्य तैलेनोदुम्बरान् पचेत् ।

Manas. III. 1388.

⁷ गुटमरिचसामिश्रो गोधूमस्थूलचूर्णविकारःमुरुरः ।

Commentary Brahma Pu.

⁸ शोधितायां सितायां तु क्षीरं संमिथयेत् समम् ॥५॥

खरपाकावधिर्यावत् तत्कवाययेत् पुनः ।

उत्तार्य नागरं तीक्ष्णनेतार्क्षूरकेसरैः ॥६॥

निधिष्य गोलकाः कार्या नाम्ना वर्णोलकास्तु ते ।

Manas. III. 1415-17.

times dolls were also made with sugar (*Sarkari putrikā*).¹ *Ghrta-pūra*, *Phenakas*, *Kbajjakas* and *Laḍḍukas* continued to be popular.² Sometimes they were also prepared with rice or *mudga* pulse.³ In the preparation of *Kṣiraprakāra* sour curds were mixed with boiled milk and the solid part of curds was separated from the liquid one. The solid curds were mixed with rice flour and sweets were prepared in different shapes. Possibly they were same as modern *Camcams* and *rasagullās*.⁴ Another sweet prepared with milk was called *Kṣirayastikā*.⁵

SPICES AND CONDIMENTS

All the spices mentioned earlier were used for seasoning.⁶ It seems a good lunch always consisted of some condiments (*avadarīṣṭa*).⁷ *Vyanjana* is used in the sense of a special prepara-

प्रविष्वर्षोपलग्नोलकारली ।

Naisadha. XVI. 100.

एतान्तर्गूरुराकंरालवङ्गतन्दुतपिष्टरचितानां गोलकानामतिवृत्तानांलड्डुकविशेषाणाम् ।

Commentary on the above.

¹ Naisadha XV. 104.

² वेत्तरानिवच्छृतरिय लंड्याचारजाय ।
सुहपाय मदियसोयवद्वि फिणीओमंडिया ।

Vilāsavatī.

Kathākoṣa Prakarana—Śalibhadra p. 58.
गुणाधारियालड्डुभा सीरखज्जा ।

Bhavisayatta. XII. 3.

Kathākoṣa Prakarana—Śalibhadra p. 58.
नोयनमुजाविउमुहचारिह छडरसलड्डुभस्तपयारिह ।

Bhavisayatta. V. 11.

Naisadha XVI. 103.

³ पायसं शालिमुदगाद्यं मोदकादीरच भक्षितः ।
पूर्णिरश्च रसालाश्च गोक्षीरस्त्वं नियोजयेत् ।

Brahma Pu.

⁴ दुर्घमूत्पवाय्य तन्मध्ये तत्रमस्तं विनिक्षिपेत् । ८।
हित्वा तोयं धनीभूतं वस्त्रवद्दं पृथक्कृतम् ।
शालितप्तैतपिष्टेन विश्रितम् परिपेतिम् । ९।
नानाकरः सुषटितं सर्पिषा परिपाचितम् ।
पववशकरया सिक्तमेलाचूर्णेन वासितम् ।
क्षीरप्रकारतामेवं भक्ष्यं मृत्वं मनोहरम् ।

Manas III. 1408-1411.

⁵ Agni Purāṇa. Ch. 164.

⁶ कंकोलकंलामर्चियायुतानाम् जातीतस्त्रां च स जन्मभूमिः ।

Kav. Mim. p. 224.

C.f. Manas. XIII. 1442-50.

⁷ मध्वपि नानवदंशं स्वदते ।

Kavy. mim. x. 134.

tion in the *Mānasollāsa* in which water used for washing rice was mixed with tamarind, butter milk, crystal sugar, powder of cardamom and juice of ginger. It was used after fumigation with asafoetida.¹ In preparing *Pralbhaka*, curds, and juices of fruits such as tamarind, pomegranates, myrobalan, citron or *amlavetasa* were used. Some fragrant spices such as coriander, asafoetida, cumin, turmeric, ginger, pepper and salt were mixed with the fruit juices. The mixture was cooked on a slow fire with some oil.² A special variety of *pralba* was prepared with *sūrāsa*, ginger, butter milk and oil.³ Sour gruel was sometimes used after fumigation.⁴ It appears that some pickles were also used.⁵

OILS

Mustard oil⁶ and sesamum oil⁷ were more commonly used for frying and cooking food articles than in the previous period. Even in a *Śrāddha* the use of sesamum oil is permitted.⁸ The

¹ तद्वृत्तालालितं तोयं चित्त्वाम्लेन विमिधितम्।
इवत्तरेण संयुक्तं सितया दृढं योजितम्।
एसाचूणसमायुक्तमार्दकस्य रसेन च।
धूपितं हिङ्गुना सम्यक् व्यञ्जनं परिकीर्तिम्।

Manas. III. 1578-79.

² दम्भा विमिधयेचित्त्वा किंवा दाढिमसारकम्।
अध्यवामलकंपिष्टं मेलयेद् वाम्लवेतसम्। ४२।
रसं चा मानुलिङ्गस्य रसं दन्तशाठस्य च।
मिथयेद् वा रसानेतान् द्विग्रानपि वयाराचि। ४३।
गन्धार्थं धान्यकं हिङ्गुजीरकतं निशिपेत्।
हृरिद्रो चैव वर्णार्थं सुगूदम् च तथार्दकम्। ४४।
रुच्यर्थं विश्वमरितं रसं रुचं च विनिशिपेत्।
गालयेत् सितवस्त्रेण किञ्चित् तैसं विमिधयेत्। ४५।
मृदःस्थाल्यो विनिशिष्य दर्ढाष्टुनपूर्वकम्।
प्रलेहकं मृदावग्नीपचेत् पाकविशारदः।

Manas. III. 1442-46.

³ Naiṣadha XVI. 86.

⁴ गीरीरं निर्मलं साम्लं लवणेन च संयुतम्।
हिङ्गुना जीरकेणापि धूपितं खूपकान्त्विकम्।

Manas. III. 1588.

⁵ संधानं दानकं धान्यं पुर्णं मूलं फलं दलम्।
जीवयोनि न संग्राह्यं यच्च जीवेण्यद्वृतम्।

Yāstilaka. p. 335.

⁶ Sukraniti. IV. 7. 159-66.⁷ Sukraniti. IV. 107-108, 110-112.

⁸ पृथकरमत्स्यस्यो देयं काणितमुर्मुरम्।
गव्यपयोदधि भूततेजन्तित्वं संबन्धम्।

Brahma Purāṇa.

poor people in the south used linseed oil.

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

The common fruits in use were oranges, grapes, dates, cocoanuts, pomegranates, *karamarda*, mango, *lakuca*, banana, bread fruits and *kapittha*.¹ Many beverages were prepared from fruit juices.² The Jains avoided five kinds of fruits such as *udumbara*, *asvattha*, *plaksa* and *nyagrodha* which are the breeding ground of various living organisms, visible and invisible.³

Fruits, leaves, roots, tubers, flowers and legumes of many plants were used as vegetables.⁴ *Pāthā*, *śāśā*, *śāfi*, *vāstuka* and *suntiśappaka* were the common pot herbs.⁵ Other vegetables in common use as before, were bottle gourd, cucumber, radish, brinjal and onions.⁶ Mustard stalks were generally eaten in winter.⁷ Somadeva praises a number of vegetables including

¹ *Pauma-cariū* III, *Karpūrāmañjari* pp. 255, 263, *Sandesarāsaka* 56, *Kavyamūlārthā* XVIII. p. 103, 106, *Sukranīti*, *Naiṣadha* XVI. 95, *Ambarāmudra* Inscription of Varaguna Pandya, *Bhavisayatta* *Kahā* II. 3, XII. 3.

² See Chapter VII. F.D.A.I. p. 225.

³ मध्यमांस मधुत्वागाः सहोदुम्बरपञ्चकाः ।

मष्टावेते गृहस्थानामुक्तामूलगुणाःश्रुते । प० ३२७।

मरुत्वत्त्वेदुग्वरस्तक्ष न्यग्रोधादि फलेष्विष्टि ।

प्रत्यक्षाः प्राणिनःरथूलाः सूक्ष्मास्त्वागमरोधराः । प० ३३०।

Yāśastilaka pp. 327 and 330.

⁴ फलशाकं पत्तशाकं कन्दशाकं च मूलकम् ।

मुष्टशाकं शिम्बशाकं पत्तापत्तविभेदतः ।

Manas. III. 1548.

⁵ पाठाशूवाशटीशाकं वास्तुकं सुनिष्ठणकम् ।

विवर्ण्यन्मवस्त्रसिवर्चो भेदि तु वास्तुकम् ।

मण्डवपर्णी पालदक्षयाचिलिकावाप्यपोदका ।

चाज्जरी हिलमोषा च कलम्बीशाकजातयः ।

Kṣirasvāmī on *Amar.* 165.

⁶ *Manas.* III. 1555-64.

अर्धरदालाबूफकालिप्रकारम्, ईपत्तिथज कर्काह..... अवालमालूरमूलक

अभृष्टचिर्मंटिका....., प्रपकवार्काग्निदम नरज्ञीकल....., प्रस्ति-

चूताभ्रातक पिचुगन्द कदल....., वृहूती वारांक फल सोभाजन कन्द रासन.....

एण्ट फलवलाण्डुमुष्टिकाम्बरम्, उच्छ्वानोदेल्लित वल्ल करालको कुण्डोड्डमरम् ग्रनल्प-

राजिका वर्जितावन्तिसोमावसानम्.....।

Yāśastilaka Book III, p. 404

(959 A.D.)

⁷ वराहनधारिणवोदनानि दधीनि सम्बद्धशराणि चात्र ।

सुकोमस्ताः सर्वपक्वन्दलीश्वर भून्त्वा जनानिन्दतिवैच्चविद्याम् ।

Kav. Mim. p. 245.

slices of fresh ginger.¹ According to Kalhaṇa some people avoided the use of onions and garlic because cut onions resembled flesh and eating garlic was a foreign innovation.² Some vegetables such as *cirṛbiṭa* were cut into pieces dried and fried in oil or ghee to be taken as dainties.³

The vegetable preparations of the south are mentioned in the Ambasamudra Inscription of Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya. *Kaykkari* was prepared with some vegetables and spices such as pepper, mustard and salt. *Pulinggari* was a preparation of horsegram and plantain fruit. Boiled curry (*pulikkukkari*), fried curry (*povikkari*) and a liquid preparation consisting of a vegetable cooked with Bengal gram or beans were generally eaten in the south.

INTOXICATING DRINKS

It appears that the habit of drinking was found among a considerable section of Indian society in this period. Even some Brāhmaṇa youths wasted their time in the company of dancing girls who were addicted to drinking.⁴ The sons of Harīchandra by a Kṣatriya wife are called *madbhupāyina* (addicted to drinking).⁵ Some women are described as intoxicated with

¹ वालं वृत्तान् कोहलं कार्जेलं घिल्ली जीवन्ति वास्तुलस्तण्डुलीयः।

सद्यः संभूष्टा: पंटाशिखमंटान्ता: किस्तलौकैश्चेत् कालयस्वार्द्धकास्यः।

Yaśastilaka III. 356.

² Stein-Rājatarāṅgiṇī Book I, p. 342.

³ *Kaccara* or *karcari*

पुणोकच्चरा पण्डा दिश्मेया

जयं तार्ण कोवम्भ्रा दिल्लतेया।

Bhavi. XII. 3.

तिछिसु कच्चरं अवश्यं वोइया
दिनत्रुंटीर्या संड तंजोइया।

Vilāsavatī.

⁴ अश्वुरोदाशपवित्रितवेदपदोद्गारागमंवदन्तोः।

ववच मदिरासववासितबारवपुमुखरसास्वादः।

Kuṭṭanimatam. 414.

⁵ तेन श्री हरिश्चन्द्रेण परिणीता द्विजामग्ना।

द्वितीयाक्षत्रिया भद्रा महाकुलं गुणान्विता।

प्रतिहाय द्विजामूर्ता वाहूष्यां ये भवन्मुतः।

राज्ञी भद्राष यान् सूते ते भूता नवृपायिनः।

Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihara Bauka (V.S. 894) verses No. 7-8
E.I. Vol. XVIII. p. 95.

Cf. Vanarāja was much addicted to drinking.

वनराजस्याहं बहुमतो भूमित्युपस्थितममूर्ता।

इयं धवलहरे सुनिर चावुकड रायलादिक्षो।

Moharājaparājaya IV. 47.

drinking.¹ Women liked the *vārūpī* variety of wine.² Drinking wine after partaking of pepper and betel leaves was, according to Rājaśekhara, the general practice among the ladies of the south.³ Somadeva gives an interesting account of a drinking place in his *Kathāsaritsāgara*.⁴ In the *Sukranītisāra* distillation of wine is regarded as an art and moderate use of wine is recommended.⁵ On the occasion of marriage feasts drinking was common especially among Kṣatriyas.⁶ Medhātithi also says that while Brāhmaṇa women did not drink wine at festivals, Kṣatriya and other women, to whom drinking was not forbidden, indulged in excessive drinking on festive occasions.⁷ Courtezans and Tāntrikas were, no doubt, addicted to drinking.⁸

There were, as before, four important sources from which intoxicating liquors were prepared treacle, cereals, *madhūka* flowers and some fruits.⁹ But the most common varieties in use were

¹ मदिरामत्तवनिता । The description of Rājagṛha in the Jaina *Padma Purāṇa* Ch. II by Raviṣeṇa (834 V.S.).

² कान्तोच्छिष्टा वारणी वारिमिथा ।

Karpūra Mañjari, p. 256.

³ पिवन्त्यास्वाद्य मरिचं ताम्बूलविशद्यमूर्खैः ।

Kav. Mim. VII. p. 39.

प्रियाधरावदंशानि सूधनि द्विलाङ्गनाः ।

सपञ्चमतरङ्गिणोसवणसीश्वला वेणुगो ।

समं तिसिर वारिणा वश्वण सीश्वला वारणी ।

Karpūramanjari IV. 6.

⁴ भाषानभूमिः सज्जेयं तदवागम्यतामिति । १२४।

विचित्ररत्नचक्रप्रहूलविविधाम्बुजाम्

विकीर्णनिककुसुमामुद्यालन्तलिनीमिति । १२५।

व्यानां मत्तासवापूर्णा कलशीमिः पुरुनिध्रिमिः ।

तन्त्रनीमिः सुधाहरूः वाहूपत्रामृतप्रभम् ।

Kathāsariit Sāgara VIII, 110.

⁵ भृति मद्यं हि पिवतो बुद्धिलोपो भवेत् किल ।

प्रतिभां बुद्धिवेशं धेयं चित्तविनिश्चयम् ।

तनोति भावता पीतं भद्रमन्यद् विनाशाङ्गत् ।

Sukranīti. I. 113-116.

C.f. *Sukranīti* IV. 3. 141.

⁶ *Naisadha* XVI, 99.

⁷ Medhātithi on *Manu*. IX. 84.

⁸ Courtezans—*Kumārapāla Carita*, IV. 10-21.

Tantrikas—मज्जं पिमामो महिलं रमामो ।

मज्जं धर्सं पिज्जए खज्जए च ।

Karpūramanjari pp. 22-23.

⁹ गोडी पेण्टी च माघ्वी च फलोत्था सुरा स्मृता ।

Kṣīrasvāmī on *Amar. Bhumi* Sūdra 43.

those prepared from bread fruit, grapes, dates, palmyra, *madhika* flowers, sugarcane, honey, cocoanut, cereals, *saira*, *vāruṇi*, *mairya* and *ariṣṭa*.¹

Evil effects of drinking were well known. *Sukraniti* condemns excessive drinking and lays down that one should not visit liquor houses nor should he sell liquor.² *Somadeva* condemns drinking by saying that drunkards are generally liars. Drinking is the root of all evils since it completely deludes the mind and is, therefore, the greatest of all sins. He cites the example of *Yādavas* who were ruined on account of drinking and says that drunkards are transformed into wine to delude the minds of men after a long succession of births and rebirths.³ From Alberuni's account it appears that a section of people belonging to higher castes abstained from drinking.⁴ Most of the *Dharmaśāstras* of this period also condemn drinking by the three higher castes.⁵ According to Alberuni drinking was common among the *Sūdras*.⁶

¹ *Pulastya* quoted in *Mitākṣarā* on *Yaj.*

² *Sukraniti*, I. 115-116. See F.D.A.I. p. 222, f. n. 5.
C.f. *Sukraniti*, III. 63-64 and 242.

मांसादिषु दया नास्ति न सत्यं मरुषायिषु ।

³ सर्वदोषादयो मद्यान्महामोहकृतेभंतेः ।
रावेदां पातकानान्व धुरःसरतया स्थितम् ।
हिताहितविमोहेत देहिनः किं न पातकम् ।
कुर्यां संसारकान्ता परिभ्रमणकरणम् ।

Yāśastilaka, p. 327.

मद्देन यादवा नष्टा यूतेन पाण्डवाः ।
इति सर्वत्रतोकेऽस्मिन् सुप्रतिष्ठं कथानकम् ।
समुत्पद्य विपद्धेह देहिनोऽनेकः किल ।
भद्रोभवति कालेन भनोमोहाय देहिनाम् ।
मदंकविन्दुसंपत्राः प्राणिनः प्रचरत्वा चेत् ।
पूरयेयुनं सदेहं समस्तमपि विष्टप्तम् ।

Yāśastilaka, p. 330.

C.f. *Subhāṣita Sandoha* Ch. 31.

⁴ Alberuni Ch. 68.

⁵ अदेयं वाप्यपेयं च तद्यावास्पृश्यमेव च ।
द्विजातीनामनालोक्यं नित्यं मदमिति स्थितिः । ४३ ।
तस्मात् सर्वं प्रयत्नेन भद्रं नित्यं विवर्जयेत् ।

Padma Pu. Adi 36, 43-44.

⁶ Alberuni Ch. 68.

WATER AND OTHER BEVERAGES

Somadeva lays emphasis on the proper use of water. Water is called both nectar and poison; properly used it is like nectar and used without proper care it acts like a poison.¹ Transparent water, without any taste and smell, and swept by wind and sunshine is beneficial. In all other cases water should be boiled before drinking. Water exposed to the rays of the sun and the moon should not be used longer than a day and a night, water boiled in day time should not be taken at night, and water boiled at night should not be taken in the day time.² The *Mānasollāsa* mentions all the sources of water mentioned earlier and calls water inside a coconut fruit *Vārksa* water.³ It recommends the use of water purified with spices, such as cloves and camphor and fumigated with a piece of clay baked in fire of *khadira* wood.⁴ Sometimes flowers such as *pātala*, *upala* and *campaka* were used to make drinking water fragrant.⁵ Somesvara recommends the use of rain water in the autumn season, of river water in the *Hemanta*, water of tanks in the *Sisira*, of the pools in the spring, of a spring in summer and of wells in the rainy season. But *Harisodaka* is recommended for all seasons.⁶ Sometimes water was stored in golden jars and cooled

¹ *Yāstastilaka* II. 368.

² *Yāstastilaka* III. 370-371.

³ दिव्यान्तरिक्षं नारेयं नैर्भरम् चारसं जलम् ।

भौमं चौण्डं च लाटाकमीद्धूदं नवम् स्पृतम् ।

Manas. III. 1605.

वशम् केविदिच्छन्ति वाक्षंजीवनमुत्तमम् ।

नारिकेलसमूद्भूतं स्वादु वृष्टं मनोहरम् ।

Manas. III. 1615.

⁴ कणामूस्तकं संयुक्तमेलोषीरकं चन्दनैः ।

मदितं मृत्तिकापिष्ठं लदिराङ्गासाचितम् । १६ ।

निशिपेत् निर्मले तोवे सर्वदोषहरे शुभे ।

कथितः पिण्डवासीयं सलिलेषु विनक्षणः ।

Manas. III. 1619-20.

⁵ लवङ्गोदीरकमूर्खान्तानलचन्दनैः ।

सलिलामयकङ्कोलपथ्याकर्चूरसंयुतैः ।

विचृणितं समैश्चभिः सुशीतामलतारिणा ।

चूर्णाद्विवासिनः प्राह ।

Manas. III. 1622-24.

⁶ दिव्यं शरीरं पानीयं हेमन्ते गरिदुद्भवम् ।

शिपिरे वारि लाटागं वसन्ते लारसं पयः ।

निदाये नैर्भरं तीयं भौमं प्रावृष्टि पीयते ।

हृतोदकं सदा पथ्यं वाक्षं पेयं यथारचि ।

Manas. III. 1627.

with drafts of air after fumigating it with the fire of aloe wood. It was considered very tasteful.¹

Some beverages and syrups were also in use.² Preparation of a special beverage is described in the *Mānasollāsa*. It was prepared by mixing some acid fruit juice with boiled milk. Then the liquid part was separated from the solid part. In the strained liquid sugar and powder of cardamom were mixed. The mixture was strained in a piece of cloth again and again till it became quite pure. Roasted tamarind fruit with the juice of some other fruits was mixed with this strained liquid. Similarly syrups were also prepared with other sour fruits.³

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The account of the marriage feast of Darmayanti shows a very high stage of development in the art of cooking. The guests at the feast could not distinguish the vegetarian dishes from the non-vegetarian ones. The combination and method of preparation of various ingredients was so excellent that the products of one season were mistaken for those of another.⁴

Somadeva in his *Yaśastilaka* refers to some fine vegetarian

Water exposed to the rays of the sun in the daytime and to those of the moon at night was called *Hamsodaka*.

¹ मकार नीहारनिमं प्रभञ्जनादधूपि यच्चागुरुसारदारभिः।

निरीय भृग्नारक रस्त्रि तत्र तेरवणि बारि प्रतिवारमीदृशम्।

Naisadha. XVI. 89.

² See F.D.A.I. p. 219, f. n. 5.

Yaśastilaka. p. 335.

C.f. Viṣṇudharmottara Pu. II. 63.12.

³ चक्षुदृश्य समस्थाप्य वस्त्रीयादुज्ज्वलाम्बरम्।

प्रसार्य यस्तिभिः किञ्चित् दीरमन्तेन भेदितम्। ८१।

सितया च समायुक्तमेलान्तर्णविमिथितम्।

क्षिपेत् प्रशारिते वस्त्रे स्वावयेत् पेषयेत् समम्। ८२।

पुनः पुनः क्षिपेत् तत्र यावद्विमेलतां वज्रत्।

पक्वविज्ञवाकालं भृष्टं वर्णार्थं तत्र निक्षिपेत्। ८३।

यस्य कस्य फलस्यापि रखेन परिमिश्येत्।

तत्तक्षाम समाख्यातं पानकं पेषयुत्तमम्। ८४।

Manas. III. 1581-84.

⁴ यथामिष्ये जग्मुनामिषध्रमं निरामिष्ये आमिषमोहमूहिरे।

तथा विदध्यः परिकर्मं निभितम् विवित्रमेते परिद्वय भोजितः।

Naisadha. XVI. 81.

अनेकसंयोजनदा तथाकृते निर्कृत्य निषिष्य च तादुर्गर्जनात्।

अमीकृताकालिकवस्तुविस्मयं जना बहुज्ञनमम्बवाहरत्।

Naisadha. XVI. 83.

dishes,¹ while the *Mānasollāsa* describes in detail some delicious meat preparations and dismisses the vegetarian dishes in one verse.² The *Viṣṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa* lays down that food articles should be cooked on a slow fire.³ Somadeva mentions that food articles are cooked well in a vessel that is covered and stirred.⁴

Many cooking utensils and implements are mentioned.⁵ The royal families used utensils made of precious stones, gold or silver.⁶ It was believed that food preparations served in earthen vessels tasted well but generally a king was to be served in a golden dish and golden cups.⁷ The rules about cleaning the utensils were the same as in the earlier period.⁸

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

As in the earlier period the householder was expected to make food offerings to gods, forefathers, guests and dependants before he himself took his meals. He was not to eat anything

¹ *Yāśastilaka*, Book III.

² कल्पयेद् दिविधैः शाकं भैसवत् पाककोविदः ।
वटकान् पर्णटान् हृष्टान् भ्रज्ञारः परिमर्जयेत् ।

Manas. III. 1549.

³ नात्यर्थदीर्घेन हुताशनेन नात्यन्तनन्देन च रात्यमन्तम् ।

रसं न चाप्यन् भवेत् प्रभूतं नात्यल्पमेतत्कथितं भवा ते ।

Vishnu Dh. Pa. II. 63 113.

⁴ *Yāśastilaka* III. 322.

⁵ *Manas.* III, ch. 13, *Naiṣadha*, XVI., *Bhavisayattha*, VI. 16.

⁶ हरिन्द्रणेभौंजिनभाजनेऽपिते गताः प्रकोपं किल वारवानिकाः ।

Naiṣadha. XVI. 66.

⁷ *Manas.* III. 1585.

⁸ तंजसानामुच्छिष्टानां गोशवृन्मृद्भस्मधिः । परिमार्जनमन्यतमेन वा । १४। ताम्र-
रजतमुवर्णानामम्बैः । १५। अमत्राणां दहनं । १६। दारवाणां तक्षणम् । १७। वैवायानां गोम-
येन । १८। फलमयानां गोवालरज्ज्वा । १९। कृष्णाजिनानां वित्वतण्डलैः । १०।

Baudhayana Sm. I. 5, 34-40.

मृणवं भाजनं सर्वं पुनः पाकेन शुद्ध्यति ।

मर्यमूर्च्चैः पुरीर्जस्त्र षट्ठीवनै पूर्णशोणितः । १।

संस्पृष्टं नैव शुद्ध्येत् पुनः पाकेन मृणयम् ।

एतंरेव तथा स्पृष्टं ताम्रसोवर्णराजतम् । २।

शुद्धत्यावतितं पश्चादन्यथा केवलाम्भसा ।

अम्लोदकेन ताम्रस्य सीसस्य च पुष्पस्तथा ।

क्षारेन शुद्धिः कांसस्य लोहस्य च विनिर्दिशेत् । ३।

अज्ञानां चैव भाण्डानां सर्वस्याशमयस्य च ।

Sankha. Sm. XVI. 1-3.

which he did not offer to the gods, manes, and guests.¹ A Brāhmaṇa was expected to feed guests even if they belonged to Vaiśya or Sudra castes.² He was also to set apart some food for low creatures.³

In this period much more emphasis on the purity of food seems to have been laid than in the previous period. Severe penances are prescribed for eating impure food⁴ and food offered by those whose food should not be accepted. Some new additions have been made to the list such as food offered by a person who has renounced the world without proper ceremony.⁵

¹ देवं प्रितियिध्योन्नमदत्वा नाशनीपात् नवचित्
आत्मार्थं यः पचेन्मोहामरकार्यं, स जीवति ।

Sukra III. 134.

C.f. Viṣṇu Dharmottara Pu. Ch. 233, 118-126 Baudhāyana Sm. II. 7.270
कलेऽनस्य शुश्वरविहितो दित्सवानो विधुतः ।
नो भोक्तुर्व्यं प्रथममतियेयं: सदा तिष्ठतीति ।
तस्यावपि गतमर्लं पुण्यराशिं वयन्तम् ।
तं दातारं जिनपतिमहे मृत्युमातृजिनेद्वाः ।

Subhāṣita Sandoha (994 A.D.)

विष्णसाशीभवेनिरतं चामृतभोजनः ।
यज्ञस्त्रयोऽमृतं मुक्तश्चेष्ट तु विष्णसं विदुः ।

Skanda Pu. Kasi 41 22.

² वैश्यपूदावपि प्राप्ती कुटुम्बेऽतियिधर्मणी ।
भोजयेत् सहभूवैस्तानाशृङ्स्वं प्रयोजयेत् ।

Visṇu Dharmottara Pu. 233.31.

³ महृत्वा वैश्यदेवंतु ये मञ्जल्यधार्मिकाः ।
वृथा तेनापाकेन काकयानि भ्रन्ति ते ।

Laghu Śatātapa Sm. 52.

C.f. Vṛddha Harīta Sm. 281, Veda Vyaso Sm. III. 40-49.

⁴ Āṅgiras. Sm. 88.

मत्तचुडातुराणां न च भृत्यीत कदाचत ।

⁵ महापातकिना स्पृष्टम् यज्ञस्पृष्टमृदयथा ।२।

गणान्नं गणिकान्नं च वार्षीयेनायकस्य च ।

प्रभिशस्तपण्डस्य यस्यास्वोपापतिर्गुहै ।३।

रजकस्य नशंसस्य वन्दिनः कितवस्य च ।४।

मिथ्याप्रब्रजितस्यान्नं पुंश्चत्यास्तेलिकस्य च ।५।

चण्डालश्वपचानं तु मुनत्वा चाद्रायणं चरेत् ।

अनिर्दद्वा च प्रतेतान्नं गवाद्यातं तर्थं च ।६।

प्राश्यमन्त्रपूरीयाणि द्विजश्चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ।

शुक्राणि जग्धवा मांसानि प्रतेतान्नं कवकानि च ।७।

प्रत्यादशूकरोद्गृहाणां गोमायोः कपिकाकयोः ।

शौनकराश्वद्वरोद्गृहाणां छवार्कं शामकुकुटम् ।८।

मांसं जग्धवा कुञ्जरस्य तप्तकुच्छेण शुष्पति ।९।

Agni. Pu. Ch. 168.

C.f. Padma Pu. Adi. Ch. 56. 1-17, 26, Visṇu. Dh. Pu. III. 230 5-7, Vṛddha Harīta. Sm. 267-68.

As before stale food was forbidden except food articles cooked in clarified butter, and preparations of rice and milk.¹ Generally, the Dharmasāstras of this period do not allow the people of three higher castes to take food or drinks offered by a Śūdra² but they were permitted to accept milk rice, food articles cooked in clarified butter, milk, groats, oil cake and oil.³ It was considered improper to take the leavings of food of some other person but if a Brāhmaṇa, now and then, took his food with his wife it was not considered a sin. Āpastamba also permits a person to eat the leavings of his father or elder brother.⁴ Somadeva forbids eating and drinking in the house of those who take wine, meat and honey and even the use of utensils belonging to them. He states that a person should avoid water brought in water-skins, oil kept in leather flasks, and women who are not in a fit state for vows.⁵ The practices of bathing before taking meals, two persons not eating from the same dish and throwing leaves and earthenware once used for eating as now, were observed

¹ भोज्यमन्तं पर्युपितं स्नेहान्तं चिरसंभृतम् ।
प्रसन्नेहा नीहयःस्त्रियाः विकाराःपयस्तथा ।

Vāmana Pu. XIV. 59.

Visnu, Dh. Pu. III. 228, 8, Laghvāśvālāyana Sm. 170, Yaśastilaka III.

344.

² Angiras Smṛti. 67, Abu. Sam. 174-178, Ap. Sm. III. 3.

³ पायसं स्नेहपत्वं गोरसर्वं सन्तवः । १६।
पिण्डाकर्चव तैलं च शूद्राद् धार्य द्विजातिभिः । १६।

Padma Pu. Adi. 56 18-19.

आमासां भवुपृतम् धाना धीरं तथैव च ।
गुदस्त्रं रसाप्राणा निवृतेनापि शूद्रः ।
ज्ञाकं मांसं मृणालानि तुम्बुरुः रुक्तवस्तिलाः ।
रसाःकलानि पिण्डाकं प्रतिप्राणाणि सर्वतः ।

Ap. Sm. VIII.
Cf. Prajapati. Sm. 130, Laghu, Sankha. Sm. 67.

⁴ ब्राह्मण्या सहयोज्ञनीयादुच्छिष्टं वा कदाचन ।
न तत्र दोयं मन्यन्ते नित्यमेव मनीषिणः ।

Ap. Sm. V. 7-8.

पितुष्यर्थस्व च ध्रातुरच्छिष्टं भोज्यम् ।

Ap. Sm.

⁵ पद्मादित्वादिगेहेय पानमन्तं च नाचरेत् ।
तदमत्रादि संपकं न कुर्वित फदानन् ।
दृति प्रायेषु पानीयं स्नहं च कुतपादियु ।
व्रतस्यो वज्रेन्नित्यं योपितश्चात्रतोचिताः ।

Cf. Atri Sm.

Yaśastilaka. p. 331.

in the ninth century.¹ The practice of not eating the food served at the house of one's daughter had also come into vogue.² Cakes, groats, parched barley, butter milk, curds, clarified butter, honey, preparations of milk, and sugarcane, or food cooked in oil or clarified butter could be bought from the market if water was not used in preparing them.³

Food was taken twice a day⁴ without reviling it.⁵ and one was expected to take only as much food as was necessary to satisfy hunger.⁶ Somadeva states that he who gorges himself with food gluttonously even when he is not hungry stirs up diseases.⁷ One is, therefore, advised to abstain from over-eating, undereating, eating of combinations of hygienic and unhygienic food, and eating immediately after eating.⁸ It is recommended that food should vary according to the season. In the autumn a person should take sweet, bitter and astringent things, in the rainy and the winter seasons he should take sweet,

¹ Ancient Accounts of India and China by two Mohammedan travellers translated from Arabic by Eusebius Renaudot, pp. 36 and 98, 99.

² स्वसुतान्त्रं च यो भूद्वते स मुद्वते पृथिवीमतम्।

Atri. Sm. 304.

³ ग्रूप सकतवो वानास्तकं दधि घृतं मधुं।

एतत्प्येषु भोक्तव्यं भाष्वलेषो च चृद्भवेत् । १७१।

ग्राह्यं भीरविकारं स्यात्सर्वं चैवेषु संभवम्।

तं सदीराज्यपक्वं च जलसंमिश्रितं न हि । १७३।

Laghvāśvalīyana Sm. 171, 173

⁴ सायं प्रातस्व भुज्यते नान्तराले कदाचन।

सायं प्रातर्मनुव्यायामशनं देवनिमितम्।

Visnu. Dh. Pu. III. 233, 28.

C.f. Gaut. Sm. IX. 4.

⁵ वृद्धा Harita Sm. VIII. 267.

अश्वं न निश्चात् मुस्वच्छः स्वीकुर्यात् प्रीतिभोजनम्।

याहारं प्रवरं विद्यात् पद्मसं मधुरोत्तमम्।

Sukra. III. 109.

⁶ यावद् भ्रियेत् जठरं तावस्त्वत्वं हि देहिनाम्।

अधिकं योऽभिनन्येत स स्तेनो दण्डमहंति।

Bhāgavata Pu. VII. 14. 8.

⁷ Yaśastilaka III. 329.

See Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture by K. K. Handiqui p. 112.

नाजीरं भोजनं कुर्यात् कुर्यात्रिवृभूक्षितः।

Brahma Pu.

⁸ ग्रस्यशनं सज्जवशनं समशनमध्यशनमत्र संत्याज्यम्।

Yaśastilaka III. 345.

काले हितमिताहारविद्वारी विषसाशनः।

Sukra III. 107.

salty and sour things, and in the summer mild preparations.¹

We are also told that the constant eating of over-sweet dishes leads to indigestion, too much of salty food causes weakening of vision, extremely sour and pungent dishes lead to physical decay and any unhygienic food causes loss of strength. Certain remedies are also suggested for indigestion.² Somesvara lays down the order of dishes as they should be served. In the beginning one should take boiled rice then milk rice mixed with sugar and clarified butter, then fruits and sweet and sour articles of food, then delicious beverages and preparations like Sikharini and thick curds should be taken. Last of all, preparations of butter milk mixed with salt or sour gruel should be taken.³ As in the earlier period, some articles are mentioned which should not be taken together. Bananas should not be taken with curds and butter milk, milk with salt, and broths of pulses with radishes, groats should not be taken when they become thick like curds and all sesamum preparations should be avoided at night. Germinating paddy and ghee kept in a brass vessel for a period of ten days are also forbidden.⁴ In the case of royal families it was customary to examine the food preparations to see that they did

¹ Yasastilaka III. 349-353.

C.f.

पूर्व मुद्गाः सातिः समितविकृतिः शीरविषयः।
पटोलं मृद्दीकाः फलमिह च भाष्याः समुच्चितम्।
सिता शीतच्छाया मधुरसवदां कन्दकुपलं।
शरत्काले सेव्यं रजनि वदने चन्द्रकिरणाः।

Yasastilaka III. 354.

वसन्तो कटु चादनीवाद श्रीप्ते मधुरसीतलम्।
वर्षामु च तथा शारं नपरं शरीरं स्मृतम्।
हेमन्ते स्तिष्ममूर्णा च शिखिरेष्युज्जमन्तकम्।

Manas. XIII. 1599-1600.

² Yasastilaka III. 364-366.

³ पक्षान्नं पायसं मध्ये शर्कराप्रतिविमिथितम्।
वातः फलानि नुञ्जीत मधुराम्लरसानि च। १५६५।
पित्रेच्च पानकं हृदयं लिङ्गान्त्वितरिणीमपि।
चूपेत् नजिककं पदचार्यं चादात्ततो धनम्। १५६६।
दत्तस्तकाम्भमदनीयात् सेन्धवेन च संयुतम्।
शीरं वापि पित्रेत्पत्नात् पित्रेत्वा कान्तिकं वरम्।

Mānasollāsa II. 13. 1595-97.

⁴ Yasastilaka III. 341-43.

C.f.

रात्री च तिलसम्बद्धं प्रथत्वेन दधि त्पजेत्।
नाशनीयात्पयसा तक्ते शक्तारात्रं त योजयेत्।

Padma Pu. Adi. 56. 25.

not contain any poison and the symptoms are described in the works of this period as in those of the earlier periods.¹

A student and a householder were expected to take a nourishing full meal so that they might be able to perform sacrificial rites.² But the hermits lived on such coarse food as roots, fruits, tubers, vegetables, husked cereals, water or air alone.³

The general rules of etiquette were the same as in earlier period. A person should take his meals in a secluded place.⁴ He should sit not on bare ground and should not take his meals standing, walking or riding some animal. He should face the east and have his sacred thread and some clothes on his body but should not have his head dress or his shoes on. He should not take his meals in a burial ground or in a temple. He should not keep the food in his lap, in the palm of his hand or on a seat. He should neither have wet clothes nor his head wet. He should not, while taking meals, have his legs stretched. He should not sit on a cot, or on a seat made of leather. He should not eat leavings of his own food or drink. He should not eat very quickly in the company of many persons. He should not leave much food in his dish and should wash his mouth before going out.⁵

¹ *Yājastilaka* III. 338-340.

C.f.

चिद्रोपभयाद्यत्रं विमश्य कपिकुम्कुटेः।
हृताः स्वलन्ति कृजन्ति भृगाः नत्यन्ति नायराः।
विरोति कुम्कुटो मत्ता: कौञ्जो वैरचते कौपिः।
दृष्ट्वरोमा भवेद् ब्रह्मः सारिकावते तथा।
दृष्ट्वैव सवियं चान्नं तस्माद् भोज्यं परीक्षयेत्।

Sukraniti I. 325.27.

² गृहस्यो ग्रह्याचारी वा योनशनस्तु तपश्चरेत्।
प्राणानिहीनत्वोपेत ग्रथकीर्णी नवेत् च।

Baudhayana Sm. II. 7. 33-34

³ *Baudh. Sm.* III. 5.

⁴ कुर्यादिनिशारभाहारं निर्हर्तव्यजने सदा।

Sukraniti III. 108.

⁵ भूमी सदंव चासनीवाप्न च सञ्चवत्।

Visnu. Dh. Pu. 233. 31.

हस्यश्वरथयानोद्भास्यितो नैव भलयेत्।
स्मशानात्पन्तरस्यो वा देवासयमेऽयवा।
शयनस्त्वो न भूज्यीत न पाणिस्थं न चासने।
नाद्वासा नाद्वीशिरा न चायग्नोपवीतवान्।
न प्रसारितपादस्तु पादारोपितपाणिमान्।
सवाहुस्पिक्षतस्येच न च एव्युभास्यितः।
न वेष्टितशिरा चापि नोत्सञ्जुक्तभाजनः।

It was a general rule that sweets and other delicious dishes were not to be taken alone.¹ Sukra states that a person should not be too formal at the time of dinner if he wants to be happy.² He should eat his food quietly, neither talking, nor laughing nor making a noise.³ All persons were expected to take the same dishes in a party.⁴

Chewing betel leaves with some spices after meals was common as it was believed that it aided digestion.⁵ In the *Naiṣadha*

गैकवस्त्रो दृष्टमध्यो नोपानत्कः सपादुकः।
न चर्मोनिर्त्संस्थरन्व चर्मविद्यितपादवंबान्।
प्राप्ताशेषं न चासनीयात् पीतशीषं पिवेन्न च।
शाकमूलकलेशुणां दन्तच्छेदनेन्मधायेत्।
बहूना भूञ्जतां न चर्मेत् न चासनीयात् द्वरान्वितः।
वृथा न विसृजेदन्व नोच्छिष्टः कुरुचिद् वृजेद्।

Brahma. Pu.

Someśvara suggests that the king should sit on a cushion with a white napkin spread from the navel to the knee and take his food in the company of his near relatives and reliable courtiers.

ऋणाभिप्रदेशान्तं सञ्चादा सितवासरा।

Manasollāsa III. 13. 1588.

C. f.

प्राणीमुखस्तु भूञ्जान आपुश्च लभते वहु।
यशश्च तमतेऽर्थ्यर्थमशनलदक्षिणदिङ्मुखः।
श्रियं तु लभते पुष्टा भूञ्जानः पश्चिमाननः।
सरयवाचयफलं प्राप्नोत्यशनन् धनदिङ्मुखः।

Manasollāsa III. 13. 1590-91.

स्वाध्याये भ्रोजने पाने पादुके वै विसर्जयेत् । ३१।
यद्देवितविश्वा भूङ्कते यो भूङ्कते दक्षिणामुखः।
सौपानत्कर्ण यो भूङ्कते तदैरक्षासि भूञ्जते । ३२।
नोत्सर्गे भोजनं कृत्वा नो पाणी नैवकर्परे।
नासने न च दृश्यायां भूञ्जीत न गत्तादितः।

Skanda Pu. Kāśi 41. 31-33.

C. f. Ap. Sm. IX., Vṛddha Hārīta Sm. VIII. 267-276.

¹ एकः स्वादु न भूञ्जीत।

Sukra III. 52.

² ग्राहारे त्यवहारे च त्यनतलज्जःमुखीभवेत्।

Sukra III. 186.

³ दृश्यासं च यो भूङ्कते सशब्दं सेन्त्रितं तथा।

लेहित इतितं चैव पठेते पश्चिक्तदूषकाः।

Bṛhadīyama Sm. 33.

⁴ पश्चिक्तमेदेन यो भूङ्कते ग्रापामादपिद्विजः।

भूषं स केवलं भूङ्कते हतश्रीवर्यितेष्टुवम्।

Laghvāśvalāyana Sm. 159.

⁵ कप्पूरवीद्यवहाणां तन्मोलादं।

Samaraiccakahā, p. 80.

Carita after a grand dinner the bridegroom's party was served with betel leaves. Spices such as camphor and *kastūri* were used in preparing them. As they were chewed a pungent sensation was created on the tongue which made the people feel as if scorpions were stinging.¹ Chewing betel leaves in the company of others without being presented with them by others was regarded as a breach of social etiquette.²

The Dharma Sāstras of this period give a long list of articles which were taboo in sacrifices and of those which were regarded pure enough to be used. The Mitākṣarā considers the use of *vṛībi*, *śāli*, barley, wheat, *mudga*, *māṣa*, cereals used by ascetics, *kālaśāka*, *mabāsalka* (a kind of fish), cardamom, dry ginger, black pepper, asafoetida, treacle, sugar, camphor, rock salt, salt from the Sambhar lake, bread fruit, cocoanut, banana, jujube, products of cow's milk, such as milk, curds, clarified butter and milk, rice, honey and meat proper on such occasions. It prohibits the use of *kodrava*, *masūra*, gram, *kulattba*, shrivelled grain, *nispāva*, *rājāmāṣa*, *kūṣmāṇḍa* (gourd), *brinjal*, *brhāṭī*, *podāki*, tender leaves of bamboo, long pepper, *vaca*, *satapuspā*, *ūṣara* and *bīḍa* salts, milk rice prepared from the milk of a buffalo or *camara*. Similar injunctions, with some variations, are found in the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas of the period.³ But Vijnāneśvara permits the use of

स एव परमः पर्याप्तं देन तृप्तास्मि।

विनिवेश्य यदुत्सङ्गे निविपति मूले मूलेन ताष्वूलम्।

Kuṭṭanimatam.

C.f. Kathāsariit Sāgara Vol. VI. p. 23, VII. p. 74, VIII. p. 4.

Vikramānīkadeva Carita X. 38, Alberuni 68.

¹ मूले निधाय ऋमुकं नलानुगैरभोजिकं पण्टिरवेष्य वृश्चकम्।

दमापित्तान्तमूस्तवासानिमित्तम् भयाविलैः स्वभ्रमहासितासिलैः।

Naiṣadha XVI 110.

² Śukra II. 410-11.

³ हृषिष्य थाद हृषियोर्यं वीहिशालियवगोधूममृद्गमायमृत्युजकालजाकम्भाशलक्ष्मी भरिच हिङ्गु गुडवाकंरा कार्यसंग्रह राम्भरपनसानारिकेल कदती वदरणव्य पर्योदयि चूत पायस मधुमांस प्रभूतिस्मृत्यन्तरं प्रसिद्धं वेदितव्यम्। अहृषिष्यमित्यनेतंचापोग्यस्य स्मृत्यन्तरं प्रतिपिदस्यकोद्व भरूरचणक कुलित्य पुलाक निधाव राजमाप कूम्भाण्ड धारांक बृहतीडयोपोदय-की वंशाङ्क-कुरुपिष्पली वचाशतपुष्टोपर विद्वस्वण माहित चामर क्षीर दधि चूत पायसादीना निवृत्तिः।

Mitākṣarā on Yaj. I. 240.

C.f. Agni. Pu. 163. 2, 168 16.21. Padma. Pu. Adi. 36 19-24, 31-35. Skanda. Pu. Kāli. 40 9-13.

garlic as a medicine and quotes Sumantu as an authority.¹ Some Jain writers objected to the eating of beans and pulses as these too, according to them, are flesh, being endowed with life. Soma-deva, however, rejects this view,² and states that all liquids should be strained through a cloth before use to avoid any possible injury to living creatures and one was for the same reason to give up eating at night.³ Pickles, syrups, unhusked paddy, flowers, fruits, roots and leaves, being the breeding ground of living organisms, should not be acquired for use nor anything that is frequented by the latter. Hollow stalks and reeds should be avoided as well as creepers and bulbs resorted to by diverse creatures. Herbs and creatures should be taken when no longer raw, after splitting them into two sections, and all kinds of pulses and beans which are cooked entire should be avoided.⁴

Sraddha feasts were common during this period but we get some other details about the food habits of the people. Fruits such as citrus medica, cocoanut, banana, dates, and oranges were

Visnu. Dh. Pu. 141 21-26. III. 230 12-14. III. 233 26-27.

Angiras Sm. 139, Attri. Sam. 92, 235, 379, Attri. Sm. 7 Ap. Sm. VI. 9, Prajapati Sm. 113-123.

Vrddha Harita Sm. VII. 108-123, VIII. 253-254, 261-265, 277-282. XI. 99-101. Veda Vyasa Sm. III. 63-65. Sankha Sm. XIV. 19-26, XVII 20-34.

¹ एतान्येव व्याधितस्य निष्कृ क्रियादामप्रतिपिद्धीनि भवन्ति । यानि चैव प्रकाराणि तेष्वपि न दोषः ।

Sumantu quoted in Mitakshara on Yaj. III. 290.

² तदाहु मांसं जीवशरीरं भवेन्न वा मांसम् ।

यद्यन्निम्बो वृक्तो वृक्तस्तुम्बवानिन्मः ।

Yasastilaka p. 331.

³ Kumārapāla Carita VIII. 68.

⁴ देवद्वयाणि सर्वाणि पटपूतानि योजयेत् ।

निशायां वर्जयेद् भुक्तिमिहामुत्र च दुःखदाम् ।

संधानं पानकं धात्यं पुण्यं मूलं फलं दलम् ।

जीवयोनि न संश्चाह्यम् यज्ञीवैश्यदुतम् ।

यदन्तः शुष्पिरत्रायं हेषं नाली नक्षादि तत ।

प्रनन्त कायिक प्रायं वस्त्रीकन्दादिकं त्यजेत् ।

हिंदूलं हिंदूलं प्रायं प्रायेजानवतां गतम् ।

सिन्धयः राक्तलास्त्याज्याः सापिताः सक्तलाश्च याः ।

Yasastilaka p. 335.

given to a pregnant woman. Food articles cooked in milk, clarified butter, or mixed with honey and curds were given to a child at the time of the ceremony of first feeding. Rice and fruits were given to a boy at the ceremony of putting on the sacred thread.¹ Salt, honey and meat were not taken when one observed a fast.² The Jains considered it meritorious to starve themselves to death.³

From the Uktivyakti prakarana we know that the diet of the people of Banaras in the twelfth century consisted of boiled rice, milk rice, *kṛṣṇa* and cakes. Parched grain was eaten and groats were taken with clarified butter and sugar. They were also kneaded into balls. People also liked cakes fried in clarified butter. Some people took meat soup and rice cooked with meat and roasted meat.

The students learnt the art of cooking from the teacher's wife. They cooked their own food from the provisions they got in alms. People, generally, took food after taking bath, worshipping gods and offering food to Brāhmaṇas. Brāhmaṇas were fond of sweets such as *modakas* and did full justice to the food served in the feasts.⁴

From a south Indian inscription we know that cardamom, *campaka* buds, *kēsakbasa*, roots, *dāla*, pepper, spices, cumin, sugar, clarified butter, tamarind, curds, grams, plantains, pulses, husked rice, paddy, oil and salt were the common food articles in the South about 1000 A.D.⁵

From the Yaśastilaka we learn that the daily diet of the rich in the South consisted of white shining rice, broths of golden

¹ मातुलिङ्गनारिकेन रम्भासर्जुरपूरकम् ।
शस्तनि स्पृयान्वानि नारिङ्गादीनि वापि च ।

Āśv. Sm. Garbhādhāna. 9.

क्षीराञ्जयमधुदध्यनं विषाय प्राशयेच्छशून् ।

Āśv. Sm. Annaprāśana 3.

तण्डुलान् सफलान् दद्याद् भिशार्थं जननीतु च ।

Āśv. Sm. Upanayana.

² लवणं मधुमांसं च क्षाराञ्चवो येन हृपते । उपासे न मध्यजीत ।

Gobhila Sm. III. 117.

³ ग्रन्तसं मरण मरिवितवत्ततङ् दसनइवेत्तलोइं संपत्तः ।

Bhavisayattra. XII. 4.

⁴ Uktivyaktiprakarana pp. 21, 22, 37, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 49.

⁵ South Indian Inscriptions No. 1 of Rājakesari 1000 A.D.

colour, butter, curries, well cooked savoury dishes, thick curds, milk, milk rice, sweets and water perfumed with camphor. The meal of the miserly people consisted of boiled rice grown stale, half cooked gourds, and certain badly cooked vegetables as well as some gruel mixed with plenty of mustards. Their beverage was some alkaline fluid with a taste like that of the water of a salt mine. Some poor people subsisted on *syāmāka* rice and whey.¹

We propose to conclude this chapter with a review of the feasts during this period. From Nalacampū we learn that boiled rice, *mudga*, *modakas*, *asokavarti*, meat, many kinds of vegetables condiments, milk, curds, *ghārikā*, clarified butter, honey, sugar and fruit juices were generally served in feasts.² In such feasts the ground was covered with pieces of cloth, all kinds of utensils were brought together and drinking was indulged in.³ Saline preparations such as *kacara* and *parpata* were served. Sweet preparations of treacle and *srīkhanda*, many kinds of broths, cakes, *kāsāra*, *subālā* (sweet cakes) and fruits such as *kapittba*, grapes, cocoanuts, mangoes, citrus, and pomegranates were also eaten with great relish. Betel leaves with some spices such as camphor

¹ *Yāstastilaka*. III. Report of *Sādikhānaka*.

² तस्यां च बहुविस्तीर्ण स्वर्ण भोजनपात्र पत्रशंख शुक्ति चनादायानुपविष्टस्यास्यै क्रमेण परिकरमावध्य गाडमाडीकन्त स्वस्यानु हारिणोऽन्न विशेषानादाय सूपकाराः सूपकाराङ्गनाश्च। दद्वाहितस्य भवतम्, मुद्गाम् मुद्गान्, मोदकामोदकान् प्रशोकवर्तिन्योऽशोकवर्तीः। उमाता मांसम् नानाशाकाः शाकानि, द्वज्जनाव्यञ्जनम् भपरास्तु काशिचदहीरा क्षीरम्, अथारिका अपि चारिका: परिवेष्यामुः।

तमाः सर्वतोदृश्यन्ते पर्वताः पक्वाभस्य, राशयः शाल्योदत्स्य, स्तूपाः सूपस्य, निर्भराः सर्पिषः, सिन्धवो मधुनः, निकरोशकरायाः, स्रोतांसिदधितुर्घयोः, खेलाः शाकानां, निपानानि पाकानाम्, कुत्प्याः फल रसानाम्, कूटाः कपियामस्तत्तदज्ञतिकर्त्तमषुरोपदंशानाम्।

Nalacampū. p. 97.

³ ततो भोजनभूमि ते क्रमेणात्र सभासदन।

विद्याविभव उंभूत विविधाहार हारिणीम्। १२१।

आस्तीर्णवस्त्रां पावाद्यां सतिरस्करणीपटान्।

नानाविभास्वाद्यरतां नाट्यवेदीमिव भ्रियाम्। १२२।

आपान भूमिः राज्ञेयं तदत्रागम्यतमिति।

तञ्छत्वा ते युः सर्वं तामापानमुवं शुभाम्। १२४।

विविधरत्नचयप्रपुल्लविविधाम्बुजाम्।

विकीर्णानेक छुमुमामृद्धानलिनीमिद। १२५।

व्यापां मतासवापूर्णकलशीभिः पुरंप्रिभिः।

तन्वतीभिः मुधाहतृवाहूत्प्रभामृतप्रभम्। १२६।

and betel nuts were taken after feasts.¹

We have the account of a royal feast in the Kathākoṣapra-karāṇa (1108 V.S.). The first course, served to king Śrenīka, consisted of fruits such as pomegranates, grapes, and jujube, which could be chewed with teeth. The second course consisted of such fruits as could be sucked such as pieces of sugarcane, dates, oranges, and mangoes. The third course consisted of such well cooked preparations as could be taken by licking. In the fourth course some sweets such as *sevāka*, *modaka*, *phenaka* *ghṛtāpūra* were served. The fifth course consisted of fragrant boiled rice, and the sixth course of broths prepared by mixing many food stuffs. After this the dishes and cups were removed and the king washed his hands in a vessel specially meant for the purpose. The seventh course consisted of preparations of curds. Again these dishes etc. were removed and hands washed. In the end some half boiled milk with sugar, honey and saffron was served.

¹ एतोर्ण समिदं नदेहेविरुद्धं वरं शालिभतं गुमधं मुसिदं ।
तद्वादेद्युस्तार मुग्गायवत्ता नरापावहो जेणभोया विचत्ता ।
पयदेइ नासायवेयं पदत्वं नसोपावए किपिमावेणदुर्यं ।
पुलोकच्चवा पप्यदा दिन्नेभेजयंताण कोवन्नएदिव्वतेया ।
वरायद्वाणाचास्ताणदृणशाई नरोत्तोलहुं भोयभूमीहि जाई ।
मुणीण मणिट्ठं गुडं सेवस्तं स्यावित्तए भूजए भोयस्तं ।
कसायंविला तीवणा लिवस्तारा गुडेण पिण्डा जईपियारा ।
मुहासिय मंडाय खंडासुभच्छा तुवेइच्छसिसुग्ग मोग्गाइवच्छा ।
गुणाधारिया लड्डुशालीखज्जा कासारं गुतारं मुहालीमणुज्जा ।
ससतीए भत्तीए जोदेइदाया महीमूलतग्गमिसा होइराया ।
कविथा मुदकज्जामहानालिएरा गुरु माहुलिगा वरापक्कहारा ।
सुरार्द्धहि दहिएहिलितं पवित्रं वरंआमुरीयं मुहेदेहरतं ।
सहारंवसुजायया भव्यभंवा भाहोएव माई करेवि भउब्बा ।
मुसाहुण जोदेइए मञ्चलोएन छडंतिपासं स्यातस्ता भोए ।
नरेण्णज्जुतं द्वीयपिक्कीरं दिठनिज्जवोदेइ ताहीसरीरं ।
रसायवएइत्वए जोमणीसं मुहेसेवए किन्नराणां असेसं ।
मुणीण तद्वाप्रयाजेहिदिसामुकपूरब्बवेण पउरेण भिजा ।
तप्रोतेहि पविज्जए किन्नराणं भमंतो नहे हिवएसु रिमानं ।
मुहावच्छराकोइलालावदाया गुहं पावएदिव्व वाणी मुवाया ।
जहाजेणदतंतह्या तेण दतं इमं मुच्चए तिठ्लोएणवृत्तं ।
सुपाप्नज्ज्वा कोह्वाजतमाली कहसोपावए तत्यसाली ।
सिरीसंबन्धपूरएलाइंदिमा मुहारिदिहे पोष्कसाजेण दिन्ना ।
भवेतस्स वावाप्लीमाणवारी तुष्टेण कामोत्तीकन्धारी ।

Bhavisayattakāhā. Sandhi. XII. Account of the feast, given by Bhavissa when he got back his wife.

After cleaning his teeth with tooth sticks, and some fragrant powder the king again washed his hands with luke warm water and fragrant powder. It looks like the description of a grand modern feast.¹ A similar account is given in *Vilāsavatikatbā* where pickles prepared with *karira* fruit and *Karamarda*, *vāṭakas* of many kinds prepared with milk and curds and vegetables such as *kāravella* are also mentioned.² Lastly we may refer to the account of marriage feast given in the *Naiṣadha Carita*. It is mainly based on the imagination of the poet. But it reflects the contemporary conditions in royal households. The food preparations were served in dishes made of emerald. The boiled rice was served hot. It was unbroken, well cooked, white in colour, fragrant and delicious. Each grain was separate from the other. The milk rice was mixed with clarified butter. The

¹ *Kathākoṣa Prakaraṇa* by Jīneśvara Sūri, *Sāli Bhadra Katbā* p. 58, Singhī Jīn Granthamala.

² वामपासंभिदेवी विवृत्सारिया दिव्यवायालाइ उवर्णतिभंडारिया ।

कण्ठमणि-रूप कन्धोल संपुष्टयं कण्ठयत्यालं कुमस्सवित्यन्नयं ।
दन्तलख्यज्वर लुड्हुडिय उत्तर्तियादित्वं वर्त्सोलमवराय संजुतिया ।
भूजेविकिरहृत्यं पक्षालालणं सिंधुस्थणेण सहदिज्ज-एसालणं ।
प्रथटीटी करीराइ लरवंदयविलियावकक्षाटं गण्डरं धृहनं ।
पुण गोहृम सालेहि मुग्गहंसालिहं पिट्ठेहि सञ्जयरसचडिय ।
कालायरवद्द हिगु सुयंकतलियतिविहं पण्ड पदिय ।
खंडमासुरियपुत्रिमिठ्यं वहुपलेहिहं तहं भूजियपेट्ठयं ।
तलियसबलेहू चन्द्रकर वाइलणं कासमदृणतंतिद्य रिणण ।
तिडिसं कच्चरं प्रांवंव्रोह्यादिमतुटीरिया खंडसजोइया ।
चमत्तया चूचुनज साइ चमत्ताइयावत्युलोलोणमोरारिसीराइया ।
गोहृमा चन्द्रवल्लायावत्तंगरो वहुपारोहनिमविउपाचंगरो ।
वटियपद्विडियावेरवडिनिया हरडइ दाहिमी भंबर सराढिया ।
कन्तालारं करीराइ टक्कारिया फोगा सोहंजणो दिन वग्गारिया ।
तलिय पडउल कन्धोड कारेल्लायाचंगकालिग कवकडियदिन्नेलिया ।
स्त्रीखड घोलवडुद्धपदिन्या पुचुपडंति घवलत्त्वमंडया ।
घेडराचिव चहुतरिय खंडायाचारजाय सुहपाय भंडिया ।
सरससेवसहिया सुहासिया सन्दच्छय कात्तारभीतिया ।
वरमुरक्कवडियामुस्सिन्या कोक्काटीसलप्पसिय दुकिया ।
दुद्वडय तहलडु लावणा सिहकेसरा मोइयायणा ।
संडखज्ज भट्ठारसं इमंतंकमेण परिविट्ठु उत्तर्म ।
छासिहरौण खधोलइं पाणइं वहुलइं भत्ततरे भईमिठ्कं ।
सहंसुट्ठिहं निरएहिष्ठेहि तरिएहि काहिउद्धपरिविट्ठरं ।

From the Introduction to *Apabhrāntasātrayī* citing examples of Apabhrānta language. pp. 111-12.

Vilāsavatikatbā J. Bha. Ta. II. 147, 8., 202, 203 by Siddhasena Sari 1123

preparations of curds mixed with black mustard made the party scratch their heads on account of their pungent taste. Tasteful broths were prepared with the flesh of deer, and fish. The preparations were so skilfully made that the party could not distinguish between vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes. Vegetable broths, and thick curds with white sugar were also served. Flesh was so dressed that it looked like a *Bimba* fruit. *Vaṭakas* dropped in milk, and *laḍḍukas* as white as hailstones, sugar dolls, and sweet cakes were some other delicacies. We have already referred to the betel leaves which created a sensation like that of the bite of a scorpion. All this shows that the marriage feast was a feast par excellence.¹

To sum up we notice that the food habits of the people had considerably changed. Their food during the period was not so simple as in the past. They had learnt to make fine sweets from wheat flour and pulses such as *kāsāra*, *pābalikā*, *snhāli*, *patrikā*, *kṣīravāṭa*, *iḍarikā* and *ghārikā* and saline preparations from rice flour and pulses such as *kacčaras* and *parpatas*, *pārikās*, *viṣṭikās*, *dhosakas*, and *kaṭakarnas* were some delicious preparations of gram flour in common use. Along with the vegetarian dishes, the *Mānasollāsa* describes a number of fine meat preparations such as *sunthikas*, *kavacandi*, *puryāla*, *bhaditraka* and *mandaliya*. Among the Tāntrikas and some royal families non-vegetarian diet and drinking was common but a considerable section of society, influenced by the teachings of the Jains, completely avoided meat diet. This change is clearly visible in the account of the feasts. Some of these included no meat preparations. Even in *Srāddha* feasts preparation of meat dishes was not considered obligatory, now. Meat eating and drinking was common among the Kṣatriyas, Sādras and the Tāntrikas. The accounts of the feasts show that a very high standard had been attained in the art of cooking both the vegetarian and the non-vegetarian dishes.

¹ *Naiṣadha* XVI. 66-107.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Our food habits from times immemorial to the end of the 12th century A.D. are a major reflex of our cultural evolution. In the early stages the Negroid man as a mere fruit procurer lived on fruits, nuts, tubers and the flesh of animals that he hunted and killed. With the Proto-Australoid we come to a period when man produced food for himself, and from the list of fruit and vegetables and other things which he consumed it appears that the Indian Proto-Australoid was no mere barbarian. He had learnt the use of betel leaves and betel nuts and produced many of the fruits the use of which comes down to our period. He was perhaps also the first producer of rice. With the coming of Dravidians we find this cultural evolution going further. He used boiled rice, sour rice gruel, fried barley and some new pulses such as *Māṣa*, *Mudga* and *Masūra*. We find him also frying things in oil and seasoning his meat. Palm juice industry and toddy tapping go back to that early period in our history. We find also the use of some new fruits, vegetables and spices.

In the Indus Valley civilisation we come across the use of wheat, barley, sesamum and brassica. Wheat was ground in mortars with pestles possibly because the people did not know the use of circular grinding stones. They domesticated buffaloes, goats and sheep and probably drank their milk. They used melons, dates, cocoanuts and the flesh of animals, birds and fish. On the basis of food we are unable to decide the race of these people. Their food is different from the food of the Proto-Australoids as also from that of Dravidians, so it is possible that they may have been a different people who entered India before the Aryans.

The food of the early Aryans clearly proves that they were a Northern race. In the Rgveda we find them consuming barley, milk, curds, clarified butter, mutton and beef. There is no mention of either wheat or rice in the Rgveda. But when we come

to the Yajurveda we find the Aryans using wheat, rice as well as many varieties of pulses. The inclusion of these food grains in the Aryan dietary may be explained only by their contact with the people of the Indus Valley culture and also the Dravidians who had been using these articles before the coming of the latter. Oil is not mentioned in the *Rgveda* but we find its mention in the *Atharvaveda* as the food of the *Yātudhānas* or *Rāksasas* which again is indicative of the fact that its use was restricted to non-Aryans. This view is further corroborated by the remark of *Vagbhata I*, who states that the use of oil contributed largely to the strength of *Daitya* rulers and their capacity to put in hard work. Sugarcane is not mentioned in the *Rgveda*, and in the earlier works only honey is prescribed as a sweetening ingredient. The products of sugarcane also may have been included in the Aryan menu only after their contact with their predecessors in India who already knew their use.

In the *Sūtra* period there is an attempt to arrest the speed of these changes.¹ From the prohibitions and taboos found in the *Sūtra* literature we may guess that the Indian culture was entering a period when it was not only growing selfconscious but also trying to protect itself against foreign contacts and habits by laying down rules for maintaining the purity of food. In the beginning of the period the *Sūdras* were allowed to cook food under the supervision of the Aryans, though there were some persons called *Niravasita*² who were regarded as unfit to be served in the utensils of an Arya. Later the view was held that contact with *Sūdras* defiled food and dining with unworthy people was improper. The food of artisans was prohibited; probably because they were mostly non-Aryans. The use of dark grains such as *Māsa*, beans, garlic, onions, mushroom, turnips etc. was interdicted probably because these were generally consumed by non-

¹ The process of assimilation of non-Aryan elements into the Aryan society by the performance of *Vrātya* sacrifices is clearly referred to. Probably the institution of *Vrata* or vow is also associated with them.

² The out castes who would pollute utensils which might not be used by others are called *niravasita* by *Pāṇini*. These, most probably included *Cāndālas* to eat whose food was regarded as an unpardonable sin for other castes according to the *Pāli* texts. Such castes as the blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers, milkmen, washermen were regarded as *aniravasita* i.e. they did not pollute utensils and food could be served to them in the utensils of persons of high castes.

Aryans. There is prohibition against unclean meat. Students and widows were advised to avoid meat preparations. Brāhmaṇas were asked to avoid all intoxicating drinks while the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas were enjoined not to take liquors prepared from cereals. The only concession the Aryans make to popular sentiment is that they now permit the use of oil as a substitute for clarified butter, if the latter could not be had.

In the Jain and Buddhist works we find the food habits as they prevailed in eastern India. Rice and fish were the main items of food. Both the Buddha and Mahāvīra preferred non-violence. They condemned animal sacrifices. But while the Buddha did not insist on his followers conforming to strict vegetarianism and advised them not to take meat preparations if an animal was expressly killed for them, Mahāvīra went a step further. He did not allow his followers to take even those fruits or vegetables in which there was probability of the existence of any living organism. Even water was to be strained before being used for drinking purposes. Food was not to be taken at night for the same reason. Mahāvīra advised Jain monks to avoid rich food.¹ The practice of betel chewing is mentioned in the Jātakas for the first time. It is not mentioned in the Sūtra literature, in the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata. This again may be a result of the Aryan contact with the non-Aryans especially the Proto-Australoids. Many varieties of fruits, and fruit syrups and sweets are described in the Buddhist and Jain works and these may have taken the place of meat and wine in the dietary of the Jains. Though prohibited both by the Buddha and Mahāvīra, the use of intoxicating drinks by other sections of society may be presumed from their frequent mention in the Jain canonical works.

Kauṭilya gives a fairly good idea of food habits as they prevailed in the Maurya period. People were vegetarians as well as non-vegetarians. A superintendent of slaughter houses supervised the sale of meat. Fish is mentioned along with vegetables by Kauṭilya probably because it was a common article of food in the eastern parts of India which fact is corroborated by the description of the habits of the people of these parts in the later medical works. The Kṣatriyas and people residing in the hills were gene-

¹ Probably he himself was impressed by the doctrines of the Ajivikas who regarded taking rich food as an impediment in the practice of penances.

rally non-vegetarians. But the influence of Jainism and Buddhism was making itself felt to an increasing extent. According to Magasthenes, Brāhmaṇas generally avoided meat. This influence became deeper in the reign of Aśoka, which is a land mark in the development of the idea of vegetarianism. He prohibited the killing of animals on certain days of the year and forbade wholly the slaughter of certain categories of animals and birds. He criticised also the practice of meat eating on festive occasions and sacrifices.

We know from Kautilya that there was great disparity between the standard of living of an Ārya and that of a low caste worker. He wrote "One *prastha* of rice pure and unsplit, one fourth part of *sūpa* and clarified butter or oil equal to one fourth part of *sūpa* will suffice to form one meal of an Ārya. One sixth *prastha* of rice and half the above quantity of clarified butter will form the meal for a man of low caste. Three fourths of the same ration will be the food of women and half of that will be for children."

From Patañjali we know that the Sakas and Yavanas had been included in the category of *aniravarasita* Sudras. Onions were generally used by non-vegetarians probably those who had come from foreign countries. People who took meals in a standing posture are called *abrahmaṇa* by Patañjali probably because it was against the traditional Brahmanical practice.

The epics represent in a general way the conditions as they prevailed in the North-Western half of India in the post-Buddhist period. In the Madhyadeśa the Kṣatriyas continued to be non-vegetarians. The Brāhmaṇas generally took only sanctified meat. The Sārasvata Brāhmaṇas who had no objection to taking meat, were an exception. Actually as we proceed farther from the centres of Buddhism we find greater use of animal food by all sections of society. The Vāhlikas took beef and gruel with parched barley. Drinking to an excess was common even among their women. Rākṣasas are represented as consumers of meat diet || and intoxicating drinks. The Vānaras were fond of drinking though they lived mainly on fruit diet.

Influence of the sects preaching Ahimsā may be seen in the Mahābhārata as well as in the Manusmṛti. A spirit of compromise may be detected in the oft-quoted verse from the Manu-

smṛti which states that 'there is no harm in eating meat or drinking intoxicating liquors as it is the natural craving of man but abstaining from them is meritorious.' The Gitā recognizes that the food habits vary with the temperaments of the people.

In the Sunga period we find that there was a revival of *Asvamedha* and many other sacrifices in which a number of animals must have been slaughtered and consumed. Aśoka's edicts against meat eating might have been responsible for this reaction. We find other orthodox Hindu rulers, the Sātavāhanas, the Pallavas and many others also performing such sacrifices. From medical works we learn that in this period the Indians used more than forty varieties of rice, sixty varieties of fruits including some dry fruits such as almonds and more than one hundred and twenty vegetables. Treating the subject scientifically they give a list of food articles which suit people residing in different regions, as also the articles which one should consume in a particular season. Many new preparations are now mentioned for the first time and perhaps the influence of foreigners, under whom physicians like Caraka were serving, is responsible for the prescription of meat diet almost invariably for every patient. Meat soup is regarded as the most nourishing food, and wines taken in moderation are considered as wholesome as nectar itself. Some new sweets and preparations from fruit juices also came into use; and this richness of food may have been a result of the wealth which was pouring into India from Western countries as a result of the foreign trade during the Kuṣāṇa period.

Dinner of the rich was a grand occasion. Even the order in which dishes were to be served is laid down. The modern practice of listening to sweet music at the time of dinner is found in the Kāśyapa Sāmhitā. Betel chewing and smoking cigars prepared with some fragrant substances were common among the rich. Garlic juice is prescribed in many diseases. A prohibition against taking meals during the eclipse is mentioned for the first time. This belief may have come to us from Central or Western Asia.

In the Gupta period Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanism come very near each other in many respects. The Gupta rulers were *Parama Bhāgavatas* i.e. believers in the Bhāgavata religion,

the later developments of which interdicted the use of meat diet. From Fahien's account it appears that vegetarianism had been accepted as the normal way of life. Abstaining from meat was considered meritorious and even some of the Purāṇas lay down that cereals should be used in sacrifices and not animals. Some people who were outside the Aryan social order and those who inhabited certain regions, which were considered outside the Aryan fold relished meat diet. Fruit supply was quite abundant and fruit juices quite popular. But foreign articles of food were gradually finding a way into Indian dietary. Garlic is prescribed as a medicine even for Brāhmaṇas though a way out is suggested by the Bower MSS. according to which a Brāhmaṇa could have full medicinal effect of garlic by using the milk of a cow fed on garlic. *Masūra*, gram, *Koradūṣaka* and *Māṣa* from part of Indian dietary but they are still treated as exotic and are not prescribed in a Śrāddha.

The rich and luxurious life of the period, is reflected in the variety of dishes prepared from cereals and milk products and in the scenes of drinking depicted in the Ajanta paintings. In the richer sections of society even women drank, for it was believed that this habit heightened their beauty. In south India rich liquors imported from the West were used by the members of royal families, and country wine was drunk by the poor because toddy tapping has been in existence there from times immemorial. Brāhmaṇas and Sramanas generally avoided any intoxicating liquors and used fruit syrups instead because they regarded drinking as a sin.

Our history for the period 750-1200 A.D. is rather obscure but it was during these years that the Hunas and Gurjaras became members of the Indian caste system. Many of the Tibetan invaders also perhaps settled down in this country. As a result of all this, we find some of the old tendencies getting arrested and a large section of society, especially the Rājpūts, turning to the use of meat diet. The sons of Hariścandra from the Kṣatriya wife are called *Madhyapājīnab* (indulging in drinks). Among royal households especially, meat diet became so popular that the Mānasollāsa deals mainly with meat preparations in the *Antānnaboga* section and describes the various delicacies in detail. The

influence of Tibetan elements is discernible in the teachings of the *Tantrikas* who gave religious sanction to the use of wine and meat and the company of women, and associated pleasure with salvation in their teachings. Among vegetarian foods gram seems to have become, by now, very popular. Someśvara prescribed its use in many preparations, both vegetarian and non-vegetarian. Many new preparations from wheat and rice flour and pulses are mentioned. *Vatakas* of many kinds prepared from *Māṣa* pulse were very popular.

A reaction against meat eating is to be found in the religious movements of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the Western parts of India, where Jainism became so influential that rulers like Kumārapāla and Alhaṇa issued *amarigboṣayās* i.e. royal proclamations for the non-slaughter of animals. People were punished if they slaughtered animals on certain days of the year. But even here an exception was made in the case of *Purohitas*, who were obviously habitual users of meat diet. Rājpūts, too, may have largely continued eating meat. Gradually, however, the influence of these humanitarian movements started by Kings like Kumārapāla changed considerably the food habits of large sections of people in Rājasthān and Gujarat.

The vegetable preparations mentioned in Jain works and the non-vegetable dishes described in the *Mānasollāsa* show a high development in the art of cooking. The account of the marriage feast given in *Naiṣadha Carita* also shows that some people were expert in preparing excellent dishes. The members of the marriage party could not distinguish between the vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes. All this must have been done by the intermixture of various ingredients used and by the skill of dressing them.

As in history, so also in food habits, we see two principles at work, the principle of continuity and the principle of change. Though we may remark that 'change itself is a continuous process and even a static continuity must yield to gradual change so long as it is not overcome by complete stagnation and death.'¹ Changes in our food habits come but without there being any serious break with the past, and no one factor can be held res-

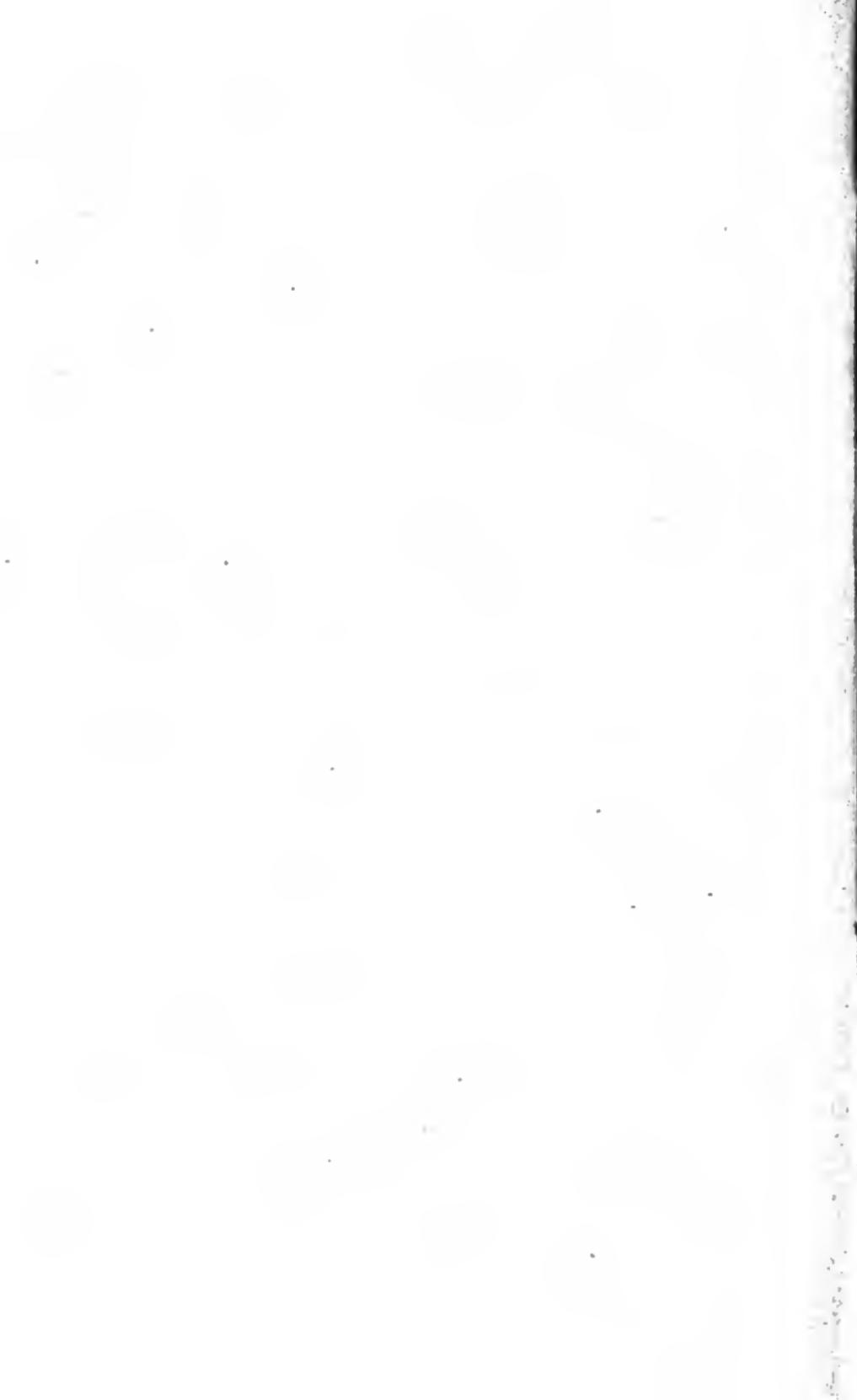
¹ Sri Jawahar Lal Nehru, Indian Inheritance, Vol. III. p. 86.

ponsible for shaping the manifold currents in this process. The fusion of the Aryans with the non-Aryans resulted in the evolution of a diet which was relished by all irrespective of caste or creed consideration. But in this diet there were as many variations as in our culture. The use of garlic and onions was eschewed by the higher castes for centuries and even now some sections of Hindu society do not consume them. Their popularity in North Western India was obviously due to the continued influence of foreign elements. Religious rules disallowed the use of wine for Brāhmaṇas but it remained popular enough with Kṣatriyas and other sections of society. Variety of food habits resulted also from geographical factors. No royal order or religious prohibition could prevent the use of rice and fish in Eastern or Southern and of wheat in North-Western India, nor could the food of the rich and the poor have been the same. We know from the Mahābhārata that the rich enjoyed meat preparations, the people of the middle classes relished articles cooked in clarified butter and the poor were satisfied with food articles cooked in oil. Food varied also on account of the religious ideals that the people entertained. While Buddhism, Jainism and the orders of rulers like Aśoka and Kumārapāla turned people to vegetarianism, the influence of Vedic religion, primarily and later on the influx of many foreign tribes made them non-vegetarians. But even in all this diversity we can perhaps see a general movement towards vegetarianism,¹ because Indians have generally felt like Mahatma Gandhi that 'abstemiousness from intoxicating drinks and drugs and from all kinds of foods, especially meat is undoubtedly a great aid to the evolution of the spirit, though,² it is by no means an end in itself.'³

¹ This fact is in conformity with the evolutionary trends of Indian thought and culture. A non-vegetarian or rather a mixed diet is the normal feature in the beginning. Later on the use of meat became restricted. People, who used it, had to find pleas for its use or be apologetic about it and some sections of society gave up meat diet altogether.

² The original has 'but' instead of 'though.'

³ Selections from Gandhi—Ahmedabad, p. 252.



APPENDIX I

HISTORY OF FRYING IN ANCIENT INDIA
(Upto c. 500 A.D.)

Some scholars are of opinion that frying was introduced into India by the Muslims. In this short note it is proposed to examine the available evidence with a view to finding out how far the assertion is based on facts.

The early Jain canonical works which in their present form were compiled in the fifth century A.D. assign a separate name for all the fried articles and call them *supakvam*.¹ By way of illustration the commentators mention two sweets *gbṛtapūra* and *kbajjakas*.² Among the non-vegetarian preparations they distinctly mention fried (*talita*) meat.³

Suśruta (latest in the fourth century A.D.) calls articles fried in clarified butter or oil *gbṛta tāila pakvāb*⁴ and mentions many sweets prepared by frying such as *gbṛtapūra*, *madbusīrṣaka* and *pbenakas*.⁵ Fried meat is called *tāila-siddhamāṁsa*⁶ or *pari-sūṣka māṁsa*.⁷ In the beginning of the fourth century the author of Āngavijjā names a number of articles of food such as *morep-daka*, *śaṣkūli*, *pāpa*, *pbenaka*, *utkārikā* and *divalikā*⁸ which are made by frying even to this day.

Caraka (1st century A.D.) in his medical treatise calls fried articles *snebasiddhbāb*.⁹ He mentions almost all the articles named above. The preparation of *śaṣkūli*, which was a cake of rice flour mixed with sesamum, fried in ghee, is referred to by Patañjali¹⁰ (c. 150 B.C.). *Apūpas* and *vaṭaka* are mentioned in the Dharamasūtras (B.C. 600—B.C. 300).¹¹

¹ F.D.A.I., p. 78, f.n.

² *ibid.*, p. 78, f.n.

³ *ibid.*, p. 65, f.n.

⁴ Suśruta, Su. 46, Bhakṣyavarga.

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ Suśruta, Su. 46, 357.

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ Āngavijjā, p. 182.

⁹ Caraka, Su. 27, 269.

¹⁰ Patañjali I. 1.47.

¹¹ F.D.A.I., p. 37, f.n. 3.

Pāṇini (c. 500 B.C.) mentions two 'sweet preparations *Apūpa*¹ and *samṛjaya*² which imply a full acquaintance with the process of frying. The history of *Apūpa* goes back to the time of the Rg-veda (c. 1500 B.C.).³ But *Apūpa* also means an ordinary cake baked on charcoals or in an oven. In this connection it may be mentioned that in the Rg-veda the word *ghṛtavantam*⁴ and in the Atharvaveda the epithet *madbumān*⁵ are used with *Apūpa* which imply that clarified butter and honey were used in its preparation. As such it is clear that in both these works the word *apūpa* means a sweet cake of rice or barley meal fried in ghee on a slow fire and not ordinary cakes in which no frying is required.

In view of the above evidence there remains no ground for any doubt about the statement that the Indians were fully acquainted with the process of frying from the earliest times and there seems no justification for holding the view that the process of frying was introduced into India by the Muslims.

¹ F.D.A.I., p. 36, f.n. 1.

² F.D.A.I., p. 41, f.n. 4.

³ F.D.A.I., p. 19, f.n. 9 and 10.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ F.D.A.I., p. 19, f.n. 1.

APPENDIX II

SUGAR INDUSTRY IN ANCIENT INDIA

Ikṣu, the common word for sugar-cane is not mentioned in the *Rg-veda* but Sri B. Majumdar is of opinion that *kuśara*¹ refers to sugarcane. *Ikṣu* is, however, mentioned in all the *Saṁhitās* of the *Yajurveda*² and chewing of sugarcane is referred to in the *Atharvaveda*.³ But there is no mention of *guḍa* and the sweetening ingredient seems to have been honey. It is possible that the process of making *guḍa* was known to the Proto-Australoids and the Aryans learnt it from them.⁴

By the time of the *Sūtras* *guḍa* loses its exotic nature. It is used in all the domestic rituals.⁵ *Pāṇini* mentions not only *guḍa*⁶ but also *Phāṇita*⁷ (inspissated juice of sugarcane boiled down to thick consistency, Hindi—*rāb*) and *Sarkarā*⁸ (sugar). He derives the word *Gauḍa* from *guḍa* which makes us infer that the industry probably first developed mostly in Bengal where sugarcane was grown. In the early Buddhist canonical works the use of *guḍa* is permitted⁹ to the followers of the Buddha and it is stated that rice meal and ashes were used in preparing it.¹⁰

The Europeans were ignorant of sugarcane production. Alexander was surprised to see reeds from which 'the barbarians across the Indus' obtained all the honey they wanted.¹¹ *Kautilya* mentions not only *phāṇita* and *guḍa* but also sugarcandy (*mat-syāṇḍikā*), raw sugar (*khanda*) and granulated sugar (*sarkarā*).¹² In the epics we come across *sarkarā*¹³ as well as sweets prepared both from *guḍa*¹⁴ and *khanda*.¹⁵ But in the ritual *guḍa* continued to be used because in the words of Prof. J.C. Ray 'the old in

¹ *Rv.* I., 191. 3. See *F.D.A.I.*, p. 19, f.n. 4.

² *F.D.A.I.*, p. 19, f.n. 5.

³ *Av.* I., 34.5. See *F.D.A.I.*, p. 19, f.n. 6.

⁴ *F.D.A.I.*, p. 3.

⁵ ⁶ *F.D.A.I.*, p. 41.

⁷ India as known to *Pāṇini*, p. 109.

⁸ ¹⁰ *F.D.A.I.*, p. 68, f.n. 5 and 6.

¹¹ ¹² *F.D.A.I.*, p. 91, f.n. 7.

¹³ *F.D.A.I.*, p. 112, f.n. 4.

¹⁴ *F.D.A.I.*, p. 112, f.n. 3.

¹⁵ *F.D.A.I.*, p. 112, f.n. 6.

all countries hold their sway even when better substitutes are known.¹

In the time of Caraka two varieties of sugar-cane *Paundraka* and *Vānsaka*² were known. Of these the former was considered better than the latter.³ The *Paundraka* variety was probably grown in Pundra country (North Bengal). This is also evident from the statement of Raviṣeṇa that the *Paundraka* variety was grown near Rajagṛha.⁴ Caraka describes all the products mentioned by Kauṭilya.⁵ He states that the coolness of these substances increases with the increase in their whiteness.⁶ Thus according to him *Sarkarā* is the coolest of all. He also mentions sugars prepared from *yavāsa* (a kind of grass) and honey.⁷

Kāshyapa mentions a third variety of sugarcane and calls it *Sāmudra* which he considers inferior to the other two.⁸ In the Suśruta Samhitā the number of varieties of sugar-cane reaches twelve⁹ but the most famous varieties were probably only five which have been mentioned by Vāgbhaṭa I.¹⁰ Suśruta also mentions sugar prepared from *Madbhūka* flowers.¹¹ In the *Harṣacarita* a distinction is made between red (*pāṭola*) and white (*śarka*) sugar,¹² which shows that the industry had fully developed early in the seventh century and all the products of sugarcane were in use. The Persian and the English words for sugar *kand* and *candy* seem to be derivations of the Sanskrit word *khanḍa*. In view of the above facts it may not be unjustifiable to conclude this account with the words of Watt 'that the world is indebted to India'¹³ for this industry.

¹ 'Sugar Industry in India' by Prof. J. C. Ray in the Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. IV. No. 4. (1918).

² Caraka, Su. 27.237.

³ *ibid.*

⁴ Jain Padma Purāṇa, Ch. II.

⁵ Caraka, Su. 27. 237-241.

⁶ Caraka, Su. 27.239.

⁷ Caraka, Su. 27. 240-241.

⁸ F.D.A.I., p. 144, f.n. 1.

⁹ F.D.A.I., p. 143, f.n. 8.

¹⁰ F.D.A.I., p. 178, f.n. 8.

¹¹ F.D.A.I., p. 144, f.n. 5.

¹² F.D.A.I., p. 179, f.n. 2.

¹³ Dic. of Eco. Products of India, Vol. VI (ii), pp. 28-36.

APPENDIX III
BEETL CHEWING IN ANCIENT INDIA

On the basis of philological studies scholars¹ think that the two words *tāmbūla* (betel leaves) and *guvāka* (areca nut) are of Austric origin hence it seems likely that the Proto-Australoids first used these articles. Another word *Pīga* (areca nut) seems to be of Dravidian origin. There are two possibilities either the custom originated on the coasts of Southern India or it must have been imported from the East Indian Archipelago where the custom is prevalent to this day. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products of India (Vol. VI(i) pp. 247-256) the betel leaf is probably a native of Java. Sri J.S. Pade thinks that the word *nāgavalli* used for a betel leaf may signify the creeper growing in the country of elephants and serpents and perhaps refers to South India, the home of these creatures.² But the problem remains unsolved for want of evidence.

There is no reference to *tāmbūla* in the Vedic *Samhitās*, the *Brahmaṇas* and the *Sūtras*. Even the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Smṛtis* of Manu and Yājñavalkya make no mention of it. This conclusively proves that the custom was not prevalent among the Vedic Aryans.

According to Dr. K.A.N. Sastri the habit of eating betel leaves with lime and areca nut perhaps came into use after the Sangam Age.³ But the custom may be prior to 200 B.C. as there are references to it in some of the early Buddhist and Jain works.⁴

Kautilya mentions betel nut⁵ but does not refer to the custom of betel chewing. Caraka, Kāśyapa and Suśruta refer to the practice and Caraka mentions all the ingredients used in the

¹ F.D.A.I., pp. 2-3.

Cf. 'The Romance of Betel chewing in Poison Damsels and other Essays' by N.M. Penzer London, 1952, p. 189 quoted by Sri J.S. Pade.

² Introduction to *Tāmbūla Mañjari* Journal of Oriental Institute (M.S. University Baroda Oriental Series), Vol. VII, 1957-58.

³ A History of South India, p. 130.

⁴ Jatakas No. 31 and 32. *Viśuddhimagga*, p. 314. *Dhammapada* *Atthakathā*, p. 49. *Aupapātika Sūtra*, Section 38, p. 50.

⁵ F.D.A.I., p. 96, f.n. 1.

preparation of betel leaves such as areca nut, cubeb-pepper, camphor, cloves, nutmegs and cardamom.¹

In the Gupta period the custom seems to have become common as it is mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra*, the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, the medical treatises and the literary works of the period.²

In the Post—Gupta period the practice is referred to by Alberuni and in the *Kuṭṭanimatam* and most of the literary works of the period.³ It is also mentioned in the later *Smṛtis*.⁴

The custom may be a Tāntric one. Sri J.S. Pade thinks that it was prevalent among the Sūdras from the earliest times but was adopted by the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas when they gave up Vedic *Samiskāras* and were initiated by the Brāhmaṇas into the Tāntric cult.⁵ According to Sri Pade, since then the use of *Tāmbula* became popular among all sections of the Hindu society.

¹ F.D.A.I., p. 162, f.n. 5.

² F.D.A.I., p. 196, f.n. 3 to 5.

³ F.D.A.I., p. 232, f.n. 5 and p. 233, f.n. 1 and 2.

⁴ *Smṛtis* of Laghuḥārīta, Laghu Āśvalāyana and Auśānasa.

⁵ See p. 253, f.n. (2).

APPENDIX IV

SMOKING IN ANCIENT INDIA

Before writing on this subject I should like to make it clear that the word smoking is not used here in the restricted and limited sense which it has acquired in our times for the smoking of tobacco, as we know that it was introduced into India by the Portuguese about 1600 A.D. In our ancient past we had other means and better ingredients, far more fragrant and health-giving, which gave the fullest satisfaction to the smoker not only without injuring his health but also improving it. Almost all the ancient Indian medical works give recipes of ingredients used in smoking.¹ In Bāna's Kādambarī, King Sūdraka is represented as smoking a fragrant cigar-like preparation.² Dāmodaragupta who wrote about a century later, gives us a picture of a lady who takes her seat near her lover after enjoying a smoke of the same kind.³

Of *Dhūmavartis*, as these cigar-like preparations are called in our books, the medical works mention five types:—the ordinary *Prāyogikī* which was meant for daily use and four others which were used to cure certain ailments.⁴ The *Prāyogikivartī* consisted of aromatic ingredients like cardamom, saffron, sandal wood, aloewood and *nsīra*. To these were added resin and the nicely cut thin barks of trees like the banyan and the *pipal* all of which are known to burn very quickly and have some fragrance of their own. The resulting mixture was then ground finely, made into a paste and coated on a hollow reed nearly six inches long which when dried had the thickness of a thumb. The reed was removed when dried and the resulting cigar like *varī* was

¹ F.D.A.I., p. 163, f.n. 3 and p. 197, f.n. 3, Kāshyapa Kalpa Dhūpa 4. Suśruta Cikitsā 40. 1-18.

Ast. Hrd. Su. 21. 13-15.

² F.D.A.I., p. 197, f.n. 1.

³ F.D.A.I., p. 197, f.n. 3.

⁴ पूँ: पञ्चविधो भवति तद्यथा प्रायोगिकः संहितो, वैरेचनिकः, कासन्धो, वामनीय-
स्वेति ।

smeared with clarified butter before use. It yielded one of the most agreeable smokes.¹

Many are the virtues ascribed to smoking. It soothed the nerves, put the smoker in a cheerful mood, strengthened his teeth and hair and sweetened his breath. It cured also cough, asthma, headache, eyesore, bad throat, pain in the ear, laziness and many other diseases caused by imbalance of wind and phlegm.² Would not even the advertiser of some modern brand of a cigar envy the description of the *Dhūmavarti* smoked by Sūdraka and his contemporaries.

Some modern people are chain smokers. There might have been many such in ancient India for one medical writer found it necessary to state that smoking, indulged in excessively or at wrong times could lead to ill health.³ It was good to smoke after bath, meals, cleaning the teeth, and getting up from bed.⁴ It was good also to have this fragrant smoke after vomiting, sneezing, application of collyrium or smelling a snuff powder.⁵ It was prescribed that a person who has taken a purgative, who has been poisoned, a pregnant woman, a person in grief or a person very tired or intoxicated, one who has kept awake all night or an unconscious person should avoid smoking. Smoking was also to be avoided after the taking of liquor, milk, oils, honey or rice with curds. One should also avoid smoking when one is in anger, when one's throat is dry, or when one is suffering from diseases like diphtheria.⁶

The proper method of smoking is also prescribed. A person while smoking should sit with his body erect and in a comfortable position. He should take three puffs at a time.⁷ He should inhale the smoke with his mouth and nostrils but should exhale it only through the nostrils.⁸

¹ F.D.A.I., p. 163, f.n. 3. Cf. Suśruta Cikitsā 40.3.
Ast. Hrd. Su. 21. 13-15.

² Caraka. Su. 5. 25-31. Suśruta Cikitsā 40.13-16.

³ Caraka. Su. 5. 36-37.

⁴ Caraka. Su. 5. 36.

⁵ Caraka. Su. 5. 34-35.

⁶ Caraka. Su. 5. 39-44.

⁷ Ibid. Su. 5. 46-47. Suśruta Cikitsā 40.18.

⁸ Suśruta Cikitsā 40.7.

It is difficult to say when the practice of smoking first started in India. It is not found in the Vedic literature and the *Śmṛtis*. The earliest references are found in the medical works, the compilation of some of which took place at the courts of foreign rulers like Kaniṣka. So it is not unlikely that the type of smoking referred to in these pages was also a foreign innovation and that later on the Indians took quite naturally and quickly to tobacco smoking also because of their earlier habits. In the vicinity of the Hindukush mountain from where probably smoking reached India, smoking of the type described, is even now regarded as something having almost mystic properties which can bring about a state of trance. After such a smoke, the medium is believed to get into touch with spirits and the supernatural world.¹

¹ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, New York, 1951.

APPENDIX V

A SHORT NOTE ON 'Sthāli' (a cooking pot)

Sthāli is one of the utensils which Indians have been using at least since the time of the Yajurveda.¹ Dr. B.N. Puri has in his recent publication 'India in the time of Patañjali' p. 100 explained the word as a 'a big earthen dish or pan now known as *thāli*'. It would be seen from the following references that the word all along has the sense of a cooking utensil. In the Mānasollāsa it is mentioned at two places and at both the places it is used for cooking meat.² In the Amarakośa *sthāli* is given as a synonym of *pīṭhara* and *ukhā* which are both cooking utensils.³

In the Daśakumāra-carita a girl asks her companions to bring a *sthāli* from the market for cooking rice for a guest.⁴ In the Nalapākadarpaṇa a *sthāli* is used for boiling rice.⁵ In the epics a *sthāli* is said to have a neck and is used for cooking vegetables and other food articles and storing liquids such as curds.⁶

¹ Vaj. Sam. XIX. 27, 86. Av. VIII. 6.17.

² मुत्ते ४ धूते पवचात्लचुनं हिन्नना सह ।
प्राह्णिष्य संस्कृतं मारुं तस्यां स्थात्या प्रवेशयेत् ।
पिहितं च ततः कुर्यात् किञ्चित्कालं प्रतीक्षय च ।
उत्तारयेत्ताः सिद्ध ।

Manas. III. 1460.61.

ग्रनेनैव प्रकारेण जर्जरीकृत्य स्पण्डकान् ।
स्थात्यामम्लेन संयोज्य पाचयेदिन्दुनासह ।

Manas. III. 1466.

³ पिठरः स्थात्युखाकुण्डम् कलशस्तुत्रिपृष्ठयोः ।

Amar. III. 9.31.

⁴ भितं पचास्यालीमुभेशारावे चाहर इति ।

Daśakumāracarita VI. p. 423.

⁵ क्षातवेत्तान् वधः सम्यगीयदुष्णेन वारिणा ।
शुद्धोदकं पुनःस्थात्यां पूरयेत्तात्रिभागिकम् ।
चुत्यामारोपयेत् स्थातीं पूरितां पाककोविदः ।

Nalapakadarpaṇa. p. 6.

⁶ स्थात्याः कण्ठेऽप्यसंलग्नं दाकान्नं बीक्ष्यकेशवः ।

Mbh. Van. 263. 24.

पात्रीणां च सहस्राणि स्थालीनां नियुतानिष्ठ ।
च्यवृदानि च पात्राणि शातकुम्भमयवानि व ।
स्थात्यः कुम्भः करंभ्यश्च दधि पूर्णाः सुसंस्कृताः ।

Ram. Ay. 91. 71-72.

In the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣads and the Sūtras the word *stbālipāka* has very often been used and means any food article cooked in a *sthāli*.¹

In view of all these references in the classical as well as Vedic literature it seems almost certain that *sthāli* has the sense of a cooking utensil even in Patañjali. This interpretation is also supported by the phrase *stbālipulākanyāya* which means just as we know about the quality of rice cooked in a *sthāli* by taking out one grain of boiled rice from it so do we judge the whole by its part.

¹ यस्या मेवस्यात्यां प्राचणीयं निर्वपेतस्यानुदयनीयं निर्वपेत् ।

Ait. Bra. I. 11.

प्रथानिप्रातरेव स्थालीपाकाकृताञ्च चेष्टित्वा स्थालीपाकस्योपदातं जुहोत्यमन्ये...
स्वाहेति हृत्वोदृत्य प्रादनाति.... ।

Brhad. Up. VI. 4.19.

उत्पूतेन नवनीतेनानुत्पूतेन वा सर्पिषा स्थालीपाकमभिधार्य एक स्यात्वां मेषणवासाच
स्थालीपाकमासादयति ।

Ap. Sr. Su. I. 3. 7.8.

अस्तगिते स्थालीपाकं धपयित्वैकपालंश्रवण्वतुः स्यात् ।

Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.5.

कृतारस्थालीपाकः ।

Kbadir. Gr. Su. II. 226.

तित्तमुदग मिथ्य अ॒ स्थालीपाकं धपयित्वा ।

Par. Gr. Su. I. 15.4.

भाजदंस्थालीपाकीयान् श्रीहीन् वा यवान् वा चरस्थाली मेषणं सुवमनुगृप्ता भपद्विति ।

Gobhila Gr. Su. I. 5.20.

APPENDIX VI

NOTES ABOUT THE ANTIQUITY OF SOME
ARTICLES OF FOOD IN INDIA

A. Cereals.

1. *Akuṣṭhaka*. (Knod Kuttu)—The earliest mention is in the Sūtra Kṛtāṅga.
2. *Āpu or Cinaka*. (Panicum Miliaceum, Hindi-Cinā)—The Yajurveda and the early Buddhist works mention it. The name Cinaka suggests its foreign origin. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it was imported from Egypt or Arabia.
3. *Gavībukā*. (Corn Lacryma, Hindi-Garabednā)—The Sāmhitās of the Yajurveda show that it was used as a food grain. According to Āpastamba it was an uncultivated grain, hence it seems indigenous.

4. *Godbūma*. (Triticum vulgare, Hindi-Gebun)—De Candolle thinks that wheat was grown in Mesopotamia from Pre-historic times. Dr. K.P. Jayaswal was of opinion that it was imported from Persia as the Sanskrit word *Godbūma* seems to be a modification of the Persian word *Gandum*. But Sylvan Levy thinks that the Aryans came into India with a knowledge of wheat. However, as the word *Godbūma* is not mentioned in the Rg-veda it seems that it was not the staple food grain of the Aryans. Vevilov came to the conclusion that wheat originated from a centre near the Punjab. It has been identified in the Indus valley as well as Nevda Toli which shows that it has been in use from about 2500 B.C. if not earlier. But it continued to be exotic with the Aryans for a long time. In the Sūtras, the daily offerings are made with rice and barley and not wheat. Even the medical treatise of Caraka mentions two varieties of wheat among the inferior cereals. Even Dhanvantari calls it the food of the Mlechhas. But it seems to have become popular by the time of Kṣirasvāmī.

5. *Hāyana*. A red variety of rice mentioned in the Yajurveda.

6. *Jārpa*. (Holcus Sorghum, Hindi-Jnār)—According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it was imported from Tropical Africa.

The medical works of Caraka, Bhela and Kāsyapa mention it for the first time. The name *Yāvanāla* makes it probable that it may have been introduced by the Greeks. (For details please see Dr. Gode's article).

7. *Karigu*. (*Setaria italica* Hindi-*Kangani*)—According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it is probably indigenous. The *Sāmhitās* of the Yajurveda mention *Priyangu*. A dark variety with large grains is called *Varaka* (*Phraseolus Trilobus*) by Kauṭilya. The *Suśruta* mentions four varieties black, red, yellow and white. Probably the brown variety is called *Kuruvinda* by Caraka.

8. *Kodrava*. (*Paspalum scorbiculatum*, Hindi-*Kodon*)—Kauṭilya mentions it among the grains of the first crop. It was considered a sacred grain hence it seems to be indigenous. A wild variety of *Kodrava* is called *Dāraka* by Kauṭilya and *Uddālaka* by Caraka.

9. *Nīvāra*. (Wild rice, Hindi-*Tinni*)—It is a *trīpa dbānya* and is mentioned in the Yajurveda. Apastamba calls it an uncultivated grain and it is considered a sacred grain hence it seems to be indigenous. Two varieties *dāruṇīvāra* and *Prasāntikā* are mentioned.

10. *Rālaka*. (*Mälakangani* in Hindi)—Two varieties, one black and the other yellow, are mentioned in the *Arigavijjā*.

11. *Sāli*. (*Oryza sativa*, Hindi-*Cāval*)—a kind of rice growing in winter which is replanted and called *Jadaban*. It is mentioned by Pāṇini.

12. *Sāṭīka*. (Hindi-*Sāṭī*)—A variety of rice mentioned by Pāṇini which took sixty days to ripen. It is probably the *āśubdānya* of the Yajurveda.

13. *Syāmāka*. (*Panicum frumentaceum*, Hindi-*Samā*)—It is mentioned in the *Sāmhitās* of the Yajurveda. Apastamba calls it an uncultivated grain hence it seems to be indigenous. It was used by hermits. We come across two varieties *Rājāsyāmāka* and *Ambbañ-Syāmāka* or *toya syāmāka*. A third variety *Hasli-syāmāka* is mentioned by Vagbhata I.

14. *Upavāka*. (*Wrightia antidysenterica*, Hindi-*Indrayau*)—At the time of the compilation of the Yajurveda it was used in preparing a gruel. It is later called *Indrayava* and *Kalinga*. The latter name shows that it was mainly grown in Kalinga (Orissa region).

15. *Vepuyava*. (Seeds of bamboo, Hindi-*Bāns ke bija*)—have been used as food from the time of Āpastamba who calls it an uncultivated food grain.

16. *Vribi*. (*Oryza sativa*, Hindi-*Cāval*)—De Condelle thought the grain to have originated in South India. Vevilov also holds more or less a similar view. Dr. S.K. Chatterji thinks that the word *Vribi* has Iranian affinities but the common word for rice *Cāval* in Indo-Aryan languages might be very well connected with the Kolor Munda root 'Jom' to eat. The word 'pāṇḍūla' for husked rice also seems to be of Austric origin. The probability is that it was introduced by the Proto-Australoids. There is no definite evidence to show that it was grown in the Indus valley and the word is not mentioned in the Rg-veda but is mentioned in the Yajurveda. The grain has been identified at Maheshwar Nevda Toli and rice husk was used in mud plaster at Hastināpur. The Greek word *Oryza* is from the Tamil word *Arisi* and we know that it was exported to Babylon in the 6th century B.C. It had become the staple food of the Indians before the beginning of the Christian era. Its wide popularity is evident from a number of varieties mentioned in the Saṁhitās of Caraka and Suśruta. Suśruta gives the following 39 varieties of rice :—

I—*Sāli* rice

1. <i>Lobita Sāli</i>	10. <i>Sitabbiruka</i>
2. <i>Kalama</i>	11. <i>Rodrapuṣpaka</i>
3. <i>Kardamaka</i>	12. <i>Dirgbāśuka</i>
4. <i>Pāṇḍuka</i>	13. <i>Kāśicānaka</i>
5. <i>Sugandbaka</i>	14. <i>Mahisa</i>
6. <i>Sakunābṛta</i>	15. <i>Mahāśuka</i>
7. <i>Puṣpāṇḍaka</i>	16. <i>Hāyanaka</i>
8. <i>Pundarīka</i>	17. <i>Dūṣaka</i>
9. <i>Mabāśāli</i>	18. <i>Mabādūṣaka</i>

II—*Vribi* rice

19. <i>Kṛṣṇavribi</i>	24. <i>Tvaritaka</i>
20. <i>Sālāmukha</i>	25. <i>Kukkuṭapāṇḍaka</i>
21. <i>Jarumukha</i>	26. <i>Pārāvataka</i>
22. <i>Nandimukha</i>	27. <i>Pāṭala</i>
23. <i>Lāvākṣaka</i>	

III—*Saṣṭika rice*

28. <i>Saṣṭika</i>	34. <i>Asana</i>
29. <i>Kāṅguka</i>	35. <i>Puspaka</i>
30. <i>Mukandaka</i>	36. <i>Mabāṣaṣṭika</i>
31. <i>Pitaka</i>	37. <i>Cūrṇaka</i>
32. <i>Pramodaka</i>	38. <i>Kuravāka</i>
33. <i>Kākalaka</i>	39. <i>Kedāra</i>

For the varieties of rice given by Caraka please see F.D.A.I., p. 134.

17. *Yava*. (Hordeum Vulgare, Hindi-*Jau*)—According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it has been grown in India from very remote times. It has been identified in the Indus valley and was the staple food grain of the R̥gvedic Aryans. A wild variety is mentioned by Pāṇini and Pliny. Kauṭilya calls it *Yavaka* probably it may be identified with oats. A large variety is called *atijava* by Suśruta. Unripe green grains of barley are called *tokma*.

B. Pulses.

1. *Ādbaki*. (Cajanus indicus, Hindi-*Arabar*)—The grain has been identified at Maheshwar Nevda Toli (1200 B.C.) but is mentioned for the first time by Caraka. It is also called *Tuvari*. The Mānasollāsa calls the dark variety *Kṛṣṇādbaki*.

2. *Ālisandaga* (a variety of chickpea, Hindi-*matar*)—According to Sylvan Levi it was a grain which was grown in Alexandria and was introduced into India after Alexander's invasion. Caraka and early Jain canonical works mention it.

3. *Canaka*. (Cicer arietinum, Hindi-*canā*)—Dr. G. P. Majumdar on the basis of Mahidhara has interpreted *Khalva*, which occurs in the Yajurveda, as *Canaka*. On the other hand Dr. P. K. Gode is of opinion that the grain was probably introduced into the Panjab by the Greeks sometime between (B.C. 190—A.D. 20). According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it originated from the south of the Caucasus or of the Caspian Sea. It was grown in Egypt from very early times. The earliest mention in Indian literature is in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Baudh. Gr. Sesa. Sūtra. In the time of Amaraśiṁha it was mainly used as food for horses. Dr. Sankalia thinks that the grain has been identified at Maheshwar Nevda Toli (1200 B.C.). If it be a fact the theory of Dr. Gode cannot hold water.

4. *Garmut*. (Wild bean, Hindi-*Kulathī*)—is mentioned in the Samhitās of the Yajurveda and was used as a pulse.

5. *Kalāya*. (Pisum arvens, Hindi-*Matar*)—Charred Peas from Harappa are thought to be of a cultivated variety. The grain has also been discovered at Maheshwar Nevda Toli (1200 B.C.). According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products the grain originated from Italy but existed in India before the arrival of the Aryans. It is mentioned in early Buddhist literature and Kauṭilya. We come across three varieties *Satīna*, *Khaṇḍikā* and *Hareṇu*. *Khaṇḍikā* is also called *Tripuṭaka* (Hindi-*Khesari*). Someśvara calls it *Vaffānaka*.

6. *Kulattha*. (Delichos biflorus, Hindi-*Kulatbī*)—The word 'Khalakula' is mentioned in the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad. It is interpreted as *Kulattha* by Dr. G.P. Majumdar. Probably *Garmut* also means *Kulattha* as the former is regarded as an uncultivated grain by Āpastamba. Hence it seems to be indigenous. Pāṇini mentions *Kulattha* for the first time. Suśruta also mentions a wild variety, *vanya Kulattha*.

7. *Maknṣṭha*. (Phaseolus aconitifolius, Hindi-*Moṭh*)—Āpastamba probably calls it *Mārkaṭaka* which was an uncultivated grain. The earliest mention of *Maknṣṭha* is in the Tait. Bra. It is also called *Vana mudga*.

8. *Māṣa*. (Phaseolus Radiatus, Hindi-*Uṛad*)—It has been discovered at Maheshwar Nevda Toli (1200 B.C.) and has been mentioned in the Yajurveda. A taboo against its use is found in the Samhitās which makes us conclude that it was originally used by non-Aryans. Suśruta mentions a wild variety, *aranya māṣa*. Kṣīrasvāmī interprets *Kulmāṣa* in the sense of an inferior variety of *Māṣa* in addition to the usual meaning of the word, a gruel.

9. *Masūra*. (Lens esculenta, Hindi-*Masūra*)—It has been in use from the time of the Yajurveda. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it originated from Egypt or Europe. The prohibition against its use in a *Srāddha* shows its exotic nature. Suśruta mentions a variety called *Māṇigalya*.

10. *Mudga*. (Phaseolus Mungo, Hindi-*Māṅg*)—A very important pulse from the time of the Yajurveda. Vagbhata II mentions a black variety, *Kṛṣṇa Mudga* and a large variety called

Mahāmudga probably *rājamudga* of Someśvara. But the green variety was considered the best.

11. *Nispāvā*. (Carnavali ensiformis, Hindi-*Bhaṭabāīs*)—Sāyaṇa interprets *Khalva* as *nispāvā*. The earliest mention of *nispāvā* is in the Caraka Saṁhitā.

12. *Rājamāṣa*. (Vignocatjang, Hindi-*rājamāṣā*)—Possibly Kauṭilya calls it *Simbi* but the word *Rājamāṣa* is first used by Caraka. It was considered exotic hence its use is prohibited in a *Śrāddha*. The Hindi word *Lobiā* is from the Greek word 'Lobos'.

C. Oilseeds.

1. *Atasi*. (Linum usitatissimum, linseed, Hindi-*Alsi*)—Kauṭilya, Āṅgavijjā and the early Jain canonical works mention it.

2. *Eraṇḍa*. (Castor seed, Ricinus communis, Hindi-*Aranḍa*)—According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it is probably indigenous. Kauṭilya calls it *Hastikarna* but the word *eraṇḍa* is used even in the Sankh. Āranyaka (XII 8). It is also mentioned by Caraka. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products Vol. VI (i) p. 518 it is wild in Africa and S. Asia.

3. *Itigudī*. (Ximenia acgyptiaca, Hindi-*Hingot*)—It is mentioned by Pāṇini (IV 3.164) and Kauṭilya. The oil was used by hermits for their lamps.

4. *Kusumbha*. (Carthamus tinctorius Safflower, Hindi-*Kasūma*)—The earliest mention is by Kauṭilya. The oil extracted from it is considered the worst by Vāgbhaṭa I.

5. *Rājikā*. (Brassica Juncea, Hindi-*rājī*)—A species of brassica which was grown in the Indus Valley. It seems to have been used by the non-Aryans, as Amarasimha calls it suitable for Asuras. It was known to Kauṭilya. A variety of *rājikā* is called *baja* in the Atharvaveda.

6. *Sarsapa*. (Brassica Campesbri, Hindi-*Sarson*)—It is mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and Sūtras. The white variety (Brassica alba) was considered good as it is called *Siddhārtba*. The red variety was also known to Kauṭilya. The Āṅgavijjā mentions a variety called *rāja sarsapa*. Huen Tsang noted that mustard oil was in common use.

7. *Tila*. (Sesamum indicum. Hindi-*Til*)—According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. VI (ii) p. 510) it was originally

a native of Africa but was brought to India before the advent of the Aryans. A lump of charred sesamum was discovered in the Indus region. The word is used in the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda. It was used both as an article of food and for extracting oil. But it seems that in the beginning it was used mainly by the non-Aryans. It is probably the earliest oil seed in India as the word 'Tila' is derived from it. A wild variety called *Jartila* is mentioned in the Tait. Sam. (V. 4.32). Three varieties of sesamum white, red and black are mentioned in the *Āngavijjā*. Caraka considers *Tila* oil to be the best of all the oils.

D. Fruits.

1. *Abbiṣuka*. (Hindi-*Cilgozā*)—It is mentioned by Caraka and other writers on medicine. Dalhaṇa explains it as a nut obtained from the northern regions.

2. *Aīnguda*. (Hindi-*Hingof*)—It is mentioned by Caraka.

3. *Aīrāvata*. Same as *nāraṅga* mentioned by Caraka.

4. *Āksikiphala*. (Beleric myrobalan, Hindi-*Babedā*)—mentioned by Caraka—see *Vibhitaka*.

5. *Akṣota*. (Walnut, Hindi-*Akbarof*)—It is mentioned by Caraka and later medical works.

6. *Āmalaka*. (Emblic Myrobalan, Hindi-*Anvalā*)—It is mentioned in the Jaim. Up. Bra. (I.38.6), Chand Up. VII.3.1 and Kaut. (II 1519). The medical works regard it as one of the good fruits.

7. *Āmlavetasa*. (Common Sorrel, Hindi-*Amalbent*)—It is mentioned by Caraka among sour fruits.

8. *Amlīkā*. (Tamarind, Hindi-*Imali*)—Caraka and other medical works mention it among sour fruits. It is also called *Ciñcāphala* which word appears to be of Dravidian origin. The Dicy. of Eco. Products states that it is indigenous in Africa.

9. *Āmra*. (Mangifera Indica, Hindi-*Ām*)—From his study based on philology, archaeology and historical evidence De Candolle (1883) proved that mango originated in South Asia (Maluccas or Malay Archipelago) and Vevilov confirmed this view. Mukerjee (1951) came to the conclusion that mango originated in Indo-Burma and Indo-China region where about 33 species are found even to-day. The fruit is mentioned in the Bṛhad. Up. and by Pāṇini. Kauṭilya also mentions *Cāta*. It is

also called *rasāla* and *Sahakāra*. A green mango fruit is called *Kosāmra* in the medical works.

10. *Āmrātaka*. (*Spondias mangifera*, Hogplum, Hindi-*Āmdā*)—mentioned by Caraka, *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* and early Jain canonical works.

11. *Āṅkoṭa*. (*Alangium*, Hindi-*Āṅkōṭa*)—mentioned by Caraka. Amara. gives *Nikocaka* as a synonym.

12. *Āruka*. (*Bokhara* plum?, Hindi-*Ālubukhārā*)—mentioned by Caraka.

13. *Āruṣkara*. (Marking-nut, Hindi-*Bbilāvā*)—It is mentioned by Suśruta. It is called *Bhallātaka*, by Caraka.

14. *Āśmantaka*. (Hindi-*Āsanta*, a kind of *Kacanār*)—mentioned by Suśruta. It is also called *Sapbarī*.

15. *Ātvakarṇa*. (*Sal* Hindi-*Sakbwā*)—mentioned by Suśruta. It was grown in the eastern regions.

16. *Ātvattha*. (*Ficus Religio*, Hindi-*Pipal*)—mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 3.48).

17. *Badara*. (*Zizyphus* Sp., Hindi-*Ber*)—It is mentioned in the Yajurveda and Pāṇini and is a large sized jujube. Kautilya and the medical works invariably mention it among Indian fruits.

18. *Bakula*. (*Mimusops Elengi*, Hindi-*Maulsīrī*)—It is mentioned by Suśruta and later medical works.

19. *Bballātaka*. Same as *Āruṣkara*.

20. *Bhavya*. (*Dillenia Indica*, Hindi-*Kamarakk?*)—It is mentioned by Caraka and other medical works. Also see *Kāmaranīga*.

21. *Bilva*. (*Aegle marmelos*, Hindi-*Bel*)—It is mentioned in the Yajurveda, the Atharvaveda, the Rāmāyaṇa and the early Buddhist and Jain canonical works.

22. *Bimbi*. (*Cephalandia indica*, Hindi-*Kandārī*)—It is mentioned in the Jaim. Up. Bra. (III. 5.6).

23. *Cīnānī*. (Peaches.)—According to Yuan Chwang the fruit was introduced into India by the Chinese.

24. *Cīnācā*. (tamarind, Hindi-*Imali*)—The word seems to be of Dravidian origin. Also see *Amlikā*.

25. *Dādima*. (*Punica granatum*, Pomegranate, Hindi-*Anār*)—The word seems to be of Austric origin but according to the Dicy. of Economic Products (Vol. VII (i) p. 369) it is wild in Persia and Afghanistan. The tree forms 'on the utensils sug-

gest the existence of the fruit in the Indus Valley. Caraka and other medical works consider it a good fruit. Vagbhata I mentions two varieties one sour and the other sweet.

26. *Dantaśaṭha*. Same as *Jambira*.

27. *Dhanvana*. (Hindi-*Dhāmanā*)—mentioned by Suśruta.

28. *Drāksā*. Same as *Mrdvikā*.

29. Fig. (Hindi-*Anjir*)—It was imported into India from Afghanistan and Persia.

(See Dr. P.K. Gode's Article. According to him it is not mentioned in the early medical works.)

30. *Gāṅgeruka*. It is first mentioned by Caraka. Probably same as *Nāgabalā*.

31. *Jambira*. (Citrus Lemonum—Hindi-*Jambiri nibū*)—It is mentioned in the Yajurveda but an ear ornament suggests its presence in the Indus Valley. It is mentioned in all the medical works and was very popular when Yuan Chwang visited India.

32. *Jambū*. (Eugenia Jambalana, Hindi—*Jāmūn*)—The word seems to be of Austric origin. It is mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 3.165) and Kauṭilya.

33. *Kadali*. (Musa Sapientum plantain, Hindi-*Kelā*)—The word seems to be of Austric origin. It was probably grown in the Indus Valley but there is a general unanimity among the Botanists that banana is native of India. It is mentioned by Kauṭilya and in the early medical works.

34. *Kalinda*. (Water melon)—The word seems to be of Austric origin. The fruit was grown in the Indus Valley. It is mentioned by Vagbhata II. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products the fruit originated from Tropical Africa. It was cultivated by Ancient Egyptians. (II, p. 332).

35. *Kāmaraniga*. (Dillenia Indica, Hindi-*Kamarakk*)—The word seems to be of Austric origin.

36. *Kapittha*. (Feronica Limonia, Hindi-*Kaitb*)—It is mentioned in the Atharvaveda (IV 4.8) and the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.

37. *Kacūra*. (A species of Zeoary, Hindi-*Kacūr*)—mentioned by Caraka.

38. *Karamarda*. (Carissa Carandas Lim., Hindi-*Karaundā*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya among sour fruits.

39. *Karaija*. (Indian beech fruit—Smooth leaved Ponginia)—mentioned by Caraka.

40. *Karira*. (*Captris aphylla*, Hindi—*Babūla ki tenti*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda.

41. *Karkandbu*. (*Zizyphus jujuba*—small orange—reddish brown berries, Hindi—*Jbāri ke ber*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda. The Sat. Bra. (V. 5. 4. 10) also mentions the two other varieties *Kuvala* and *Badara*.

42. *Kaseruka*. (*Scripus Grossus*, Hindi—*Kaseru*)—mentioned by Suśruta and the Jain canonical works.

43. *Kāśmarya*. (*Gmelina Arborca*, Hindi—*Kāśmari kā phala*) It is mentioned in the epics and by Caraka.

44. *Kbarjūra*. (*Phoenix Sylvestrus*, Hindi—*Khajūr*)—It is mentioned in the Yajurveda but the stones of dates have been found in the Indus Valley.

45. *Kola* or *Kuvala*. (*Zizyphus jujuba*, Hindi—*Ber*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda, Atharvaveda and Suśruta. It is an average sized soft jujube.

46. *Lakuca*. (*Artocarpus Lakucha*, Hindi—*Bādābal*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya. It is considered the worst fruit in the medical works.

47. *Lavali*. (*Chilie millie* or *Cicca disticha*. Hindi—*Haraphārevādi*)—A sour fruit mentioned by Caraka.

48. *Mudbāka*. (*Bassia Latifolia*, Hindi—*Mahua*)—mentioned in the Atharvaveda. (I. 34.5) and by Caraka. An intoxicating drink was prepared from it.

49. *Makūlaka*. A sweet fruit growing in the north mentioned by Caraka.

50. *Mānlūringa*. (*Citrus medica*, Hindi—*Bijaurā Nibī*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya among sour fruits. In the Rāmāyaṇa it is called *Bijapūraka*.

51. *Mora*. Same as *Kadalī*.

52. *Mrdvīka*. (*Vitis vinifera*, Hindi—*Angīr*)—According to De Candole its cultivation can be traced back to 4000 years, North-West India being a great centre of cultivation. Kauṭilya mentions it while Pāṇini calls it *Drākṣa* (Hindi—*Kismis*). Caraka mentions both the words. The fruit was imported into India from the North-West. In the Bharhut railings there is the figure of an Indo-Greek king holding a bunch of grapes with a leaf attached to it (Cunningham, pp. 32-33). In the Stūpas of Sāñchī

there is a figure which holds a bunch of grapes with a wine leaf in the left hand. (Grindwedel-Buddhist Art, p. 34).

53. *Nāgaranga*—(*Citrus Aurantium*, orange, Hindi—*Narangi*) mentioned by Caraka. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. IV, p. 472) the fruit was imported from China or Cochin China towards the beginning of the Christian era. The word *Santrā* is from a Portuguese town 'Cintre.'

54. *Nārikela*. (*Cocos nucifera*, Hindi—*Nariyal*)—The word appears to be of Austric origin. The tree forms suggest its existence in the Indus Valley. It is mentioned by Caraka and in the *Ramayana*. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products the tree originated in the Indian Archipelago.

55. *Nicula* (*Barringtonia acutangula*, Hindi—*Samudraphala*) mentioned by Suśruta.

56. *Nikocaka*. (*Pistachio*, Hindi—*Pistā*)—mentioned by Suśruta among dry fruits as a fruit growing in northern regions.

57. *Nimbu*. (*Citrus* sp. Hindi—*Nibbā*)—The word seems to be of Austric origin but India has a rich collection of various species of *Citrus* which is obviously a native of the country.

58. *Nipa*. (*Nauitia Kadamba*, Hindi—*Kadamba*)—mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 3.152).

59. *Nyagrodha*. (*Ficus benghalensis*, Hindi—*Bāda*)—mentioned in the Rg-veda. It is also called *vāta*.

60. *Panasa*. (*Artocarpus heterophyllus*, Hindi—*Kaṭabāl*)—According to Burrow it was used by the Dravidians. It is mentioned by Kauṭilya.

61. *Pārāvata*. (a kind of apple, Hindi—*Pālevat*)—It is mentioned in Caraka and other medical works. It was grown in Assam.

62. *Parpaṭakiphala*. (Hindi—*Pittapāpādā*)—mentioned by Caraka.

63. *Parūṣaka*. (*Grewia asiatica*, Hindi—*Falsā*)—mentioned in the early Buddhist canonical works and Kauṭilya. Caraka also mentions a sour *Parūṣaka*. According to the Dicy. of Economic Products the fruit is indigenous in India. (Vol. IV, p. 177).

64. *Phalgu*. (Fruit of *ficus glomerata*?)—It is mentioned by Caraka. According to Dr. P. K. Gode it is not fig. (See his article.)

65. *Picu*. mentioned among the dry fruits by Suśruta. (Su. 46.187).

66. *Pilu*. (*Careya arborea*, Hindi-*Pilu*)—mentioned in the Atharvaveda. XX 135.12. and by Pāṇini.

67. *Plakṣa*. (*ficus lacor*, Hindi-*Pilakbun*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda.

68. *Priyāla*. (*Chironia Sapida*, Hindi-*Cironji*)—mentioned in the Jātakas and the Rāmāyaṇa and by Kauṭilya.

69. *Puṣkaravarti*. mentioned by Suśruta. It was grown in the north and was also called *Āmoda*.

70. *Rājādana*. (*Mimospps Kanki*, Hindi-*Khīrnī*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya and Caraka. It is also called *Kīrī*.

71. *Samiphala*. (*Prosopis spicigera*, Sponge tree fruit, Hindi-*Chonkara*)—mentioned by Pāṇini (V. 3. 88 and IV. 3.142.)

72. *Saphakā*. (*Trapabispinosa*, Hindi-*Singādā*)—mentioned in the Atharvaveda IV. 39.5. In the medical works it is called *Sṛngātaka*.

73. *Sawira*. (*zizyphus Jujube*—big jujube Hindi-*unnāv*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya (II. 15.19) and Suśruta.

74. *Siñcitikāphala*. (apple, Hindi-*Seb*)—According to Dalhaṇa it is a kind of jujube which is as big as a fist and is very sweet. It is grown in the northern regions. Caraka is the first to mention it. According to De Candolle it existed in Europe from Pre-historic times.

75. *Sitaphala*. (Custard apple, Hindi-*Sarīfā*)—The fruit has been identified among the sculptures of the Ajanta caves as well as of the Bharhut Stūpa. It is mentioned by Suśruta but according to the Dicy. of Eco Products it was introduced by the Portuguese. According to Dalhaṇa it was known as *Rāvapāṇīlikā* or *Kāśmirāṇīlikā*.

76. *Slesmātaka*. (*Cordiamyk*, Hindi-*Lisodā*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya.

77. *Tālapbala*. (*Barassus Flabelli formis*, Hindi-*Tāḍ kā phala*) mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 3.165) and Kauṭilya.

78. *Tarka*. A kind of *Kapitha*—mentioned by Suśruta.

79. *Tauvara*. (Wild almond, Hindi-*Caulmaungra*)—mentioned by Suśruta.

80. *Tinduka*. (*Diospyros Cembryapteres*, Hindi-*Tendū*)—It is mentioned in the early Buddhist and Jain canonical works

and by Caraka. Amara mentions a variety called *Kākatinduka*.

81. *Tintīḍika*. Same as *Ciñcā*.
82. *Todana*. mentioned by Suśruta among sour fruits.
83. *Tūda*. (Mulberry?, Hindi-*Sabatū*?)—mentioned by Caraka.
84. *Trnaśūnya*. (A kind of Jasmin, Hindi-*Ketaki*?)—mentioned in the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda.
85. *Udumbara*. (*Ficus glomerata*, Hindi-*Gālar*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda.
86. *Urumāṇa*. (Pear?, Hindi-*Nāśpāti*?)—Pears according to Yuan Chwang were introduced into India by the Chinese.
87. *Vārtāka*. (Brinjal, Hindi-*Benigan*)—mentioned by Caraka. De Candolle thinks it is indigenous.
88. *Vasīra*. (Hindi-*Sūryāvartapbala*)—mentioned by Suśruta
89. *Vātāma*. (Almond, Hindi-*Bādām*)—Caraka mentions it among dry fruits. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it went from Persia to Asia Minor. (For details please see Dr. P. K. Gode's article).
90. *Vibbitaka*. (*Terminalia bellerica*, Hindi-*Babedā*)—mentioned in the Rg-veda (III 86.6 and X 34.1).
91. *Vikankata*. (*Flacourlia vamontchi*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda. A thorny tree.
92. *Vetrāpbala*. (The soft sprouts of *Catamus Rotang*, Hindi-*Berī Ke Ankur*).
93. *Vṛkṣāmla*. (Hindi-*Kokam*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya among sour fruits.

E. Vegetables.

1. *Agastya*. (Agita, Hindi-*Hatiyā*)—Flowers are cooked. Caraka *Sākavarga*.
2. *Agnimanthaka*. (*Premna integrifolia*, Hindi-*Arni*)—Suśruta.
3. *Alābu*. (*Lagenaria vulgaris*, Hindi-*Lauki*)—Probably used by Proto-Australoids. Fruit is cooked. (Yajurveda, Av. VIII. 10.29 etc.).
4. *Āluka*. (Tubers)—Caraka mentions *Pipaluka* etc., Suśruta also mentions *Madbrāluka*, *Hastyāluka*, *Kāṣṭhāluka*, *Sāmbāluka* and *Raktāluka*.
5. *Amlikākanda*. A bulb grown in Assam., Caraka.

6. *Andikā*. (*Nymphal alba*)—Av. IV. 34.5. Its flowers were eaten.
7. *Arikaladya*. (Root of little blue lotus) Caraka.
8. *Āsurī*. (A kind of *Brassica*, Hindi-*Rāī*) Caraka.
9. *Āsvattha*. (*Ficus religiosa*, Hindi-*Pipal*) Caraka.
10. *Avakā*. (*Blyxa oryzetorum*, Hindi-*Sivār*)—Kashmir potherb—Yajurveda and Av. IV. 378.
11. *Avalguā*. (Same as *Bakuci*, Hindi-*Bābuci*) Caraka.
12. *Bhaṇḍi*. (Ladies finger?, Hindi-*Bhindi*?)—Caraka, According to Rajanighaṇṭu it is *mañjistha*.
13. *Bilvapatra*. (Leaves of aegle marmelos, Hindi-*Bel-ka-Patte*) Caraka.
14. *Bimbipatra*. Leaves of the large flowered *Bryonia*. Leaves are cooked.
15. *Bimbistikā*. (Large flowered *Bryonia*, Hindi-*Kundārū*) fruit is cooked. Suśruta.
16. *Bisa*. (Lotus stalks, Hindi-*Bhis*) Caraka. The diggers of lotus stalks are mentioned in the Rv. VI. 61.2. Probably they were eaten.
17. *Brhati*. (Indian Night shade, Hindi-*Baḍi Kāṭeri*) Suśruta.
18. *Cakramarda*. (Ovalleaved *Cassia*.)
19. *Cāmigeri*. (Indian Sorrel, Hindi-*Caṇpatiā*) Caraka. A leafy vegetable.
20. *Cañcu*. (Water cress or *Carchorus Aenan*—*gularis*, Hindi-*Cañcu*) Caraka.
21. *Cilli*. (Purple goose-foot, Hindi-*Baḍā Bathnā*) Caraka.
22. *Cicindā*. (Snakegourd, Hindi-*Caceṇdā*) fruit is cooked Caraka.
23. *Cirbbīta*. (A kind of cucumber, Hindi-*Pbāt*) Kauṭilya, Caraka.
24. *Citraka*. (*Plumbago zeylanica*, rose coloured lead wort, Hindi-*Citā*) Kauṭilya, Caraka.
25. *Eravaruka*. (Cucumber, Hindi-*Kakaḍi*)—Caraka.
26. *Gandīra*. (Hindi-*Kaṇṭha Zimikand*) Caraka.
27. *Ganjeruka*. (A little thorny plant bearing a white nectareous flower) Caraka.
28. *Gojibva*. (Elephants foot?, Hindi-*Gazavān* or *Gejibbi*) a leafy vegetable. Caraka.
29. *Grīḍjana*. (Carrot root, Hindi-*Gājār*) a root. Caraka.

30. *Jivaka*. (A plant growing on the Himalayas having a bulbous root and having round and long leaves. *Pentaptera Tomentosa*) *Suśruta*.

31. *Jivanti*. (Sarsaparila, Hindi-*Jivanti*) Best pot herb. *Caraka*.

32. *Kadali*. (Plantain, Hindi-*Kelā*) Flowers and fruit are cooked. *Suśruta*. See fruits.

33. *Kākamāci*. (Nightshade Hindi-*Makoya*) *Caraka*.

34. *Kākāndolā*. (cowhage) *Caraka*.

35. *Kalambi*. (Red Malabar night shade, Hindi-*Kalami Sāk*) *Caraka*, a leafy vegetable.

36. *Kālaṭāka*. (Maraya Korniji, Hindi-*Cūkā*) *Caraka*, a leafy vegetable.

37. *Kalāya*. (Field pea, Hindi-*Matar*) *Kauṭilya* II. 12.7 and *Caraka*. See pulses.

38. *Kalīṅga*. (Water melon, Hindi-*Tarbūzā*) *Suśruta*.

39. *Kaṇṭakārīkā*. (Bitter sweet night shade, Hindi-*Kāṭeri*) *Suśruta*.

40. *Kāravella*. (Mormodica, Hindi-*Kerelā*) Fruit is cooked. It is called *Kāriynta* in the *Kāśyapa Sām*. It is mentioned in the Jain canonical works and *Suśruta*.

41. *Karbudāra*. Hindi-*Kaṇār*. *Caraka*.

42. *Karkāruka*. (Very small pumpkin, Hindi-*Choṭā petbā*) *Suśruta*.

43. *Karkāṣa*. Same as *Karkoṭaka*, a kind of *Paṭola*. *Caraka*.

44. *Karkāṭi*. (a variety of cucumber, Hindi-*Kakādi*) fruit is cooked.

45. *Karkoṭaka*. (Mormordica charantia, Hindi-*Kakodā*). *Caraka*.

46. *Kassruka*. (*Cyperus rotundus*, Hindi-*Kaseru*) a root—*Caraka*. See fruits.

47. *Kaṭbillaka*. (A pot herb, Red variety of *Punarnavā*) *Caraka* *Sākavarga*.

48. *Kelāta*. Same as *kembuke*, Hindi-*Kemuā* or *kobi*, Tuber is eaten. *Caraka*.

49. *Kośātaki*. (*Luffa pentandra*, Hindi-*Kaṭavī Torai*) Fruit is cooked. It is indigenous according to the Dicy. of Eco. Products, Vol. V, p. 94. *Kauṭilya*, *Suśruta*.

50. *Kovidāra*. (*Bauhinia variegata*, Hindi-*Lal Kacanār*) *Kauṭilya*. *Caraka*.

51. *Krauñcādani*. (a water tuber, Hindi *Kauncādan*) Caraka.
52. *Kulaka*. (Hindi-Kerelā or *Parval bbeda*) Caraka.
53. *Kumārajīva*. Hindi-Jīvāsāka. Caraka.
54. *Kumuda*. (*Nympha* lotus, Hindi-*Safed Kamal*) Av. IV.
- 34.5. Caraka.
55. *Kuntalikā*. (*Phyalis Indica*, Hindi-*Pansokhā*) Suśruta.
56. *Kiṣmāṇḍa*. (Pumpkin gourd, Hindi-*Sitāphala*) Fruits is cooked. It is considered the best vegetable. Caraka.
57. *Kusumbha*. (Safflower, Hindi-*Kaśmī*) Kauṭilya, Caraka.
58. *Kuñberaka*. (A kind of holy Basil, Hindi-*Tulasi Bbeda*) Caraka.
59. *Kuñjara*. (Wild Goose foot, Hindi-*Jangli Bathuā*). Caraka.
60. *Kutumbuka*. (Hindi-*Gūmā ke patte*) Same as *Dronapuṣpi*. A leafy vegetable. Caraka.
61. *Lakṣmaṇā*. A plant having upon its leaves red spots Av. II. 25.3, Caraka.
62. *Lāṅgalī*. (Hindi *Kalibārī*) Caraka.
63. *Lañuna*. (*Allium sativum*, Garlic root, Hindi-*Labasun*) A tuber. Kasyapa Sam.
64. *Lonikā*. (Common Indian Parselone, Hindi-*Luni* or *Kulfa*) A leafy vegetable. Caraka *Sakavarga*.
65. *Lottaka*. Hindi-*Laba māriṣa* Caraka, śākavarga.
66. *Mandākaparṇī*. (Indian pennywort, Hindi-*Brābmi*) Caraka and early Jain canonical works.
67. *Māriṣa*. (*Amaranthu olevaceus*. Hindi-*Mariṣa*) A leafy vegetable.
68. *Marwaka*. (*Vangueria spinosa*, Hindi-*Marnā* Kauṭilya.)
69. *Māṣaparṇī*. (*Teramus labiolis* or *Glycine labialis*, Hindi-*vanañrada*). (Av. II. 25.3. Caraka Śākavarga.) Dhanvantari I. 136 calls it *kāmbojī* which shows that, it was grown in *Kamboja* region.
70. *Methikā*. (Fenugreek, Hindi-*Methī*). According to Dr. P. K. Gode it was imported from Persia. Suśruta mentions *Āsvabalā* which is a variety of *methikā*. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (VI iv p. 86) it is wild in Kashmir. The word *methāka* is mentioned by Dhanvantari (See Dr. Gode's article.)
71. *Mālaka*. (radish, Hindi-*Māli*) Caraka. Śākavarga. Soft unripe radish is considered good.

72. *Muñjataka*. (*Nibn* grown in Northern India specially Kashmir, where it is called *Moboyaka*.) Caraka.

73. *Nādi*. (*Carchorus Oiltarius*.) Caraka.

74. *Nālikā*. (Hindi-*Nādi kā Sāk*) Same as *Kālasāka*.

75. *Nalini*. Same as *Bisa*, Hindi-*Bhis*. Caraka.

76. *Nandimāṣaka*. (Hindi-*Undi manavaka*) Caraka.

77. *Nimba*. (Margosa tree, Hindi-*Nīm*) Caraka.

78. *Nispāva*. (Flat bean, Hindi-*Bhaṭbāñs*) Caraka.

79. *Nyagrodha*. (*Ficus benghalensis*, Hindi-*Bād*) Rv. I. 24.7. Caraka.

80. *Pālanīya*. (*Spinacia aleracea*, Hindi-*Pālak*) a leafy vegetable. Early Jain canonical works, Caraka.

81. *Panasa*. See fruits.

82. *Palāṇḍu*. (*Allium Cepa*, Onions, Hindi-*Pyāz*) A root. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it originated from Persia and Afganistan. *Patañjali*, Ap. Dh. Su. I. 17.26.

83. *Parpaṭaka*. (*Justicia procumbance*, Hindi-*Pittapāpādā*) Caraka.

84. *Parvāṇi*. Same as *Indra Vāruṇi*. Caraka.

85. *Pāṭhā*. (Velvet leaf. Hindi-*Pāṭhā*) Av. II. 27.4. Kauṭilya and Caraka.

86. *Patola*. (A kind of snakegourd, Hindi-*Paraval*) Fruit is cooked. Probably used by early Dravidians. Buddhist canonical works and Caraka.

87. *Pbañji*. (a kind of leafy vegetable same as *Bbarigrī*) Caraka.

88. *Piluparṇi*. (Hindi-*Marbel*) Caraka.

89. *Pindāluka*. (A white variety of *Alocasia*, Hindi-*Ratāñī?*) a root Kauṭilya, Caraka.

90. *Plakṣa*. (*Ficus arnottiana*, Hindi-*Pilkun*) Yajurveda and Av. V. 5. Caraka.

91. *Prapunnāḍa*. Same as *Cakramarda*. Caraka.

92. *Punnarnavā*. (Hog's weed, Hindi-*Viṣakbāparā*) Suśruta.

93. *Puṣkarabija* (*Nymphaea*. *Stellala*, Hindi-*Kamalgattā*) Rv. VI. 16.13 etc. Caraka. *Sākavarga*.

94. *Rajakṣavaka* also called *Dugdbikā*. Caraka *Sākavarga*.

95. *Rājamāṣa*. (Cowpea, Hindi-*Rājamāṣ*) See Pulses. The Hindi word *lobia* is from the Greek word *Lobos*. According to De Candolle it is a native of Brazil and came to India from Mauritius. (Vol. VI 91 p. 186).

96. *Sakulādani*. (Purple Lippa, Same as *Jalapippali*, Hindi-*Kaṣuki* or *Jalapipal*). *Caraka Sākavarga*.

97. *Sālmali*. (Bambax *Ceiba*, Hindi-*Seمال*) Flowers are cooked. *Rv.* VII. 50.3 etc. *Caraka*.

98. *Sāluka*. (*Nymphaea lotus*, the root of waterlily, Hindi-*Kamalkand*) *Av.* IV. 34.5, *Caraka*.

99. *Sāṇa*. (*Crotalaria juncea*, Hindi-*Sāṇa*) *Av.* II. 4.5, *Kauṭilya* and *Caraka*.

100. *Sātalā*. (Soap nut acacia, Hindi-*Sātalā*) *Suśruta*.

101. *Sarangeṣṭā*. Same as *Mañjīṣṭha*, Hindi-*Mañjīṭha*) *Caraka*.

102. *Sarpachatrāka*. (Mushroom, Hindi-*Kbumbī*) *Caraka Sākavarga*.

103. *Sarṣapa*. (*Brassica Campestris*, Mustard, Hindi-*Sarsonī*) leaves and stalk. *Chand Up.* II. 14.3, *Caraka*.

104. *Satapuṣpi*. (Leaf of *Dilseed*, Hindi-*Soyā*) *Vagbhata* II. According to Dicy. of Eco. Products VI. 1.187 it is a native of India.

105. *Satāvari*. (*Asparagus racemosus*, Hindi-*Satāvar*) *Kauṭilya* *Caraka*.

106. *Sati*. (Long Zedoary, Hindi-*Kacūr*) Same as *Kacūra* *Caraka*.

107. *Satīna*. (a kind of pea, Hindi-*Maṭar*) *Suśruta*. See pulses.

108. *Simbi*. (a legume) Fruit is cooked. The Hindi word *Sem* seems to be derived from it. *Kauṭilya*.

109. *Sigrū*. (*Moringa pteri* *rygosperma*, Horse radish tree, Hindi-*Senjana*) a leafy vegetable. It is also called *Sanbhāñjana*. *Kauṭilya*.

110. *Sīrṇavṛta*. Same as *Cirbhīṭa*. *Suśruta*.

111. *Sleṣmātaka*. (*Myxa*, Hindi-*Lasorā*) See fruits.

112. *Sreyasi*. Same as *Gajapippali*. *Caraka*.

113. *Sṛigāṭa*. (*Trapa bispinosa*, Hindi-*Singbāḍā*) See fruits.

114. *Sudarsana*. Same as *Vṛṣaparṇī*. *Mbh. Anu.* 91.42.

115. *Suniṣaṇṇaka*. (*Naisilea quadrifolia*, Hindi-a kind of *Methī*). *Caraka Sākavarga*.

116. *Sūrāṇa*. (Yam. Hindi-*Zamīnkand*) According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. VI (i) p. 363) it is indigenous in India. *Caraka. Sākavarga*.

117. *Suṣā*. (Same as *Kāsamarda*, Hindi-*Suṣavī* or *Kasāṇḍī*) *Caraka. Sākavarga*.

118. *Suvarecalā*. (Sunflower, Hindi-*Hulbul*) Caraka. *Sākavarga*.

119. *Tālapralamba*. Tender leaves of palm tree. Caraka. *Sākavarga*.

120. *Tānduliyaka*. (Prickly Amaranth. Hindi-*Cañlāi kā bheda*) a leafy vegetable. Caraka. *Sākavarga*.

121. *Tāruṇī*. a tuber also called *Saba* (Suśruta).

122. *Tarṇī*. (Hindi-*Tiratkand*) Caraka. *Sākavarga*.

123. *Tilaparṇikā*. Hindi-*Hulbul* Same as *Suvarecalā*. Caraka.

124. *Tindīta*. (a kind of Cucumber, *Hibiscus ficalneus*, Hindi-*Tindā?*) Fruit is cooked, According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it is indigenous.

125. *Trapuṣa*. (a kind of cucumber, Hindi-*Khirā*) mainly grown in northern India. (Caraka)

126. *Trparṇī*. Same as *Haṁsapādikā*. Caraka.

127. *Upodaki*. (*Basella cardifolia*, Indian Spinach, Hindi-*Poṣ*) a leafy vegetable—Caraka.

128. *Udumbara*. (*Ficus Glemorata*, Hindi-*Gular*). Caraka.

129. *Urubuka*. (*Cucumis melo*, Hindi-*Lal Araṇḍa*) Rv. VII.

59.12. *Yajurveda*, Av. XIV. I. 17. and Suśruta.

130. *Urvāruka*. (*Cucumis sativus*, Hindi-*Kacariyā*) Rv. VII.

59.12. Caraka.

131. *Utpala*. (Blue lotus, Hindi-*Nila Kamal*). Caraka.

132. *Vajrakanda*. a tuber mentioned by Kauṭilya.

133. *Varisanikura*. (shoots of a bamboo, Hindi-*Banis ke Añkur*). Caraka.

134. *Vanatiktaka*. (Same as *Kirātatikta*. Hindi-*Kālamegha*). Caraka.

135. *Varsābhū*. (*Boerhavia diffusa*.)

136. *Vārtāka* or *Vṛntāka*. (Brinjal, Hindi-*Bengān*) Fruit is cooked. Probably it was used by Proto-Australoids. A fruit like brinjal can also be seen in Ajanta paintings. De Candolle thinks it is indigenous. (Caraka and Jain canonical works.)

137. *Varuṇā*. (*Crataeva nurvalla*, Hindi-*Varnā*) a leafy vegetable. (Av. VI. 85.1 etc.)

138. *Vāstuka*. (White goose-foot, Hindi-*Batbñā*) a potherb. Considered good. (Caraka and Jain canonical works.)

139. *Vatsādanti*. (*Cocculus Cordifolius*, Hindi-*Giloya*) A leafy vegetable Caraka. It is called *Guḍīcī* by Suśruta.

140. *Vetrāgra*. (Soft sprouts of *Calamus Rotang*, Hindi-*Bent kā Aglā Bbāg*) Caraka, Vagbhaṭa II.

141. *Vidārikand*. (*Canvovulus paniculatus*, Hindi-*Bilaikand*) a root. Caraka.

142. *Vrkṣadāni*. (a parasite, Hindi-*Bandā*) Suśruta.

143. *Vrkadbūmaka*. Probably same as *Trivṛta* Caraka.

144. *Vṛsapuṣpa*. (Hindi-*Āduse kā phūl*) Caraka.

145. *Yātuka*. (White *Sālaparṇi*) Caraka.

146. *Yavāni*. (The leaf of Bishop's weed) Caraka.

147. *Yavasāka*. (kind of *Vastuka*, Hindi-*khet pāpādā*) Grown in Bengal. Caraka.

148. *Yūtbikā*. (*Jaminum aruiculatum*, Hindi-*Jābī*) Suśruta.

F. Spices.

1. *Ajagandha*. (A variety of *Yavāni*) Caraka. Su. 27.176.

2. *Ajājī*. (Cummin, Hindi-*Zīrā*) Kauṭilya II. 15.21. Caraka and Suśruta call black cummin *Kāravī* and a thick variety is called *Kuncikā*. The Sanskrit word *Jiraka* seems to have been derived from the Persian word *Zīrā* hence it seems that it was introduced into India from Persia (Dicy. of Eco. Products Vol. II, p. 643) According to Watt it is indigenous in Egypt.

3. *Ārdraka*. See *Śṛṅgavera*, Caraka. *Haritavarga*.

4. *Ārjaka*. Same as *Kuṭheraka*, Caraka. *Haritavarga*.

5. *Āsvabala*. It is a variety of *Methikā*.

6. *Audbbida*. (Kitchen salt, Hindi-*Kac Namak*) Kaut. II.

15.16.

7. *Bbuṣṭrpa*. (*Andropogo Martini*, Hindi-*Gandbatrpa*) Caraka Su. 27.170. Vāgbhāṭa II Su. VII.

8. *Biḍa*. (Black salt, Hindi-*Kālā Namak*) Kauṭilya II.

15.16.

9. *Cavya*. (*Piper chaba*, Hindi-*Caba*) Vāgbhāṭa II. Su. VI.

10. *Citraka*. (*Plumbago Zeylanica*, Hindi-*Citā*) Kauṭilya.

11. *Coca*. (*Cinnamon Zeylanica*, Hindi-*Dālcini*) Kauṭilya. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products Vol. II, p. 317 it is a native of Sumātrā.

12. *Coraka*. Kauṭilya. II. 15.21.

13. *Damanaka*. (*Antemisia vulgaris*) Kauṭilya and Caraka.

14. *Dāruharidrā*. (*Amomum Xanthoririhon*) Kauṭilya.

15. *Dhānyaka*. See *Kustumbhu*.

16. *Elā*. (*Cardamaom*, Hindi-*Ialāyacī*) According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. II. p. 227) it is indigenous in mountain tracts of S. India. Kauṭilya uses it in the preparations of

decoctions for causing madness. Pliny mentions four varieties green, reddish and black, short and black and mottled with a faint smell. Amarasimha mentions the two varieties, the large and the small one.

17. *Gandira*. See vegetables. Caraka Su. 27.169.

18. *Gaurasarsapa*. (White mustard, Hindi-*Safed Sarson*) Kauṭilya II. 15.21.

19. *Grījana*. A small variety of garlic. Suśruta calls it a vegetable liked by Yavanas and Dhanvantari calls it Mlecchakanda i.e. a tuber liked by non-Aryans.

20. *Haridrā*. (Curcum longa, Turmeric, Hindi-*Haldi*) The word seems to be of Austric origin. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. II, p. 659) it is a native of South Asia.

21. *Haritaki*. (Terminalia Chebula; Hindi-*Had*) Early Buddhist canon and Kauṭilya II. 12.5.

22. *Hingu*. (Asafoetida, Hindi-*Hing*) Mahāvagga VI 7. The Kāśyapa Samhitā calls it Bālhika which shows that it was imported from Afghanistan.

23. *Jalapippali*. A kind of pepper which grows in water Caraka Su. 27.

24. *Jambīra*. See fruits.

25. *Jātiphala*. (Nutmeg, Hindi-*Jāyaphal*) Suśruti and Kāśyapa. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. IV, p. 473) it is a native of Maluccas.

26. *Jiraka*. See *Ajājī*.

27. *Karpūra*. (Camphor, Hindi-*Kapūr*) Suśruta Su. 46.202.

28. *Kāmkola*. (Cubelia officinalis, Hindi-*Sitalacīnī*) Suśruta Su. 46.202. According to Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. VI (i), p. 257) it is a native of Java and Sumatra.

29. *Kāsamarda*. (Cassia Occidentalis, Hindi-*Kasaundi*) Suśruta Su. 46.221.

30. *Kastūrikā*. (Musk, Hindi-*Kastūri*) Suśruta Su. 46.204.

31. *Kesara*. also called *Kumkuma* (Saffron, Hindi-*Kesara*) Amara II. 6.124. It was brought from Kashmir and Afghanistan, and also exported to Arabia.

32. *Khadira*. (Acacia Catechu, Hindi-*Khair*) used in preparing betel leaves (Rv. II. 53.19 etc.). According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. II, p. 203) it is a native of Moluccas.

33. *Kharāsva*. (Black cummin, See *Ajājī*) Caraka Su. 27.170.

34. *Kṣavaka*. (Centipeda or bicularis, Hindi-*Nāka Chikkani*) Suśruta Su. 46.221.

35. *Kirātatikta*. (Gentiana chitrayita, Hindi-*Cirāyatā*) Kauṭilya. It was probably grown in the country of the Kiratas.

36. *Kustumburu*. (Coriander, Hindi-*Dhaniyā*) Same as *Dhānyaka*. The word Kustumburu seems to be a Dravidian word. (Pāṇini (VI. 1.143) Kauṭilya II 15.21.)

37. *Labuna*. (Garlic Hindi-*Labasan*), Caraka. *Haritavarga*.

38. *Lavana*. (Salt. Hindi-*Namak*) Av. VII. 76.1.

39. *Lavanga*. (Cloves, Hindi-*Long*) Pliny mentions cloves as an article of trade. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products. (Vol. II, p. 203) it is a native of Moluccas. Suśruta 46.202.

40. *Marica*. (Black pepper, Hindi-*Kāli Mirca*) (Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7. 20.12. Mahāvagga VI. 6 and Kaut. II. 15.21.) Periplus states that it was exported to the Arabian Sea ports in the 1st century A. D. Pliny mentions both the white and black varieties. Probably it grew at Dharmapattana (Calicut ?) as Amarasiṁha (II. 9.367) calls it after the town. But the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. II, p. 202) regards it as indigenous in the Moluccas.

41. *Maruwaka*. (Vangueria spinosa, Hindi-*Māṅgarela*) Kauṭilya.

42. *Mūlaka*. See vegetables. Caraka. *Haritavarga*.

43. *Musta*. (Cyperus rotundus, Hindi-*Mothā*) Kauṭilya. Amara calls it *Kuruvinda* probably because it was grown in the Kuru country).

44. *Nāgakesara*. (Calophyllum inophyllum) Vaghata II calls it *Pumināga*.

45. *Palāndu*. (Onions, Hindi-*Pyāz*) Caraka. *Haritavarga*. See vegetables.

46. *Pippali*. (Piperce epuloides, Hindi-*Pipal*) It was probably used by Ancient Dravidians as it was exported to Assyria in the 14th century B. C. It is mentioned in the Av. VI. 107.4. It is called *uṣāṇḍ* in the Sat. Bra. III 4.3.13. Kauṭilya and the authors of medical works mention it as one of the very important spices. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (VI (i), p. 258) it is indigenous in India.

47. *Pippalimūla*. (Piper afficinatum, Hindi-*Piparāmūl*) Vaghata II. Su. VI.

48. *Pūgapbala*. (Arecanut, Hindi-*Supāri*) In Kauṭilya's time powdered arecanut was used to flavour certain varieties of liquors. It is a native of Malaya and seems to have been introduced into India by the Austric people. (Dicy. of Eco. Products Vol. I, p. 291 and Vol. VI (iii), p. 323) It was used in preparing betel leaves (Kaśyapa Saṁ. Bhojana kalpa 39).

49. *Rājikā*. (Brassica, Hindi-*Rāī*) A species of Brassica was grown in the Indus Valley. It is called *Baja* in Av. VII. 6.3. In Caraka it is called *Āsūri* probably because it was mainly used by the non-Aryans.

50. *Romaka*. A kind of salt. Suśruta.

51. *Saindhava*. (Rock salt, Hindi-*Sendhā Namak*) Brh. Up. II. 4.12.

52. *Sāleyamṛṣṭaka*. Caraka. *Haritavarga*.

53. *Sāmudra*. (Sea Salt, Hindi-*Sāmudra Namaś*).

54. *Sanvarcalā*. (Hindi-*Senical Namaś*) Kauṭilya II. 15.16.

55. *Siddhārtha*. (White mustard, Hindi-*Sarson*) same as *Gaurasarsapa*.

56. *Sigrū*. (Hyperanthera moringa) Caraka. *Haritavarga*. See vegetables.

57. *Sṛīgavera*. (Lingiber officinale, Hindi-*Adarak*) The word seems to be of Austric origin in the Av. IV. 35.5 it is called *Adāra*. It is mentioned by Kauṭilya.

58. *Sūnṭhi*. (Dryginger, Hindi-*Saunṭh*) Caraka calls it a panacea. (*Viśvabbeṣaja*) See *Sṛīgavera*.

59. *Suṣāvī*. (Carum Carui or Caraway, Hindi-*Suṣāvī*).

60. *Tejapatra*. (Cassia, Hindi-*Tejapāṭ*) Vaghbata II, Su. VI.

61. *Tulasi*. (Holy Basil, Hindi-*Tūlśi*) The word seems to be of Dravidian origin. The plant is mentioned in the early Buddhist canonical works. Caraka Su. 27.167.

62. *Tumburu*. (Zanthoxylum Alatum, Hindi-*Tumbaru*) Caraka Su. 27.169.

63. *Tvak*. (Cinnomomum Zeylonicum, Hindi-*Dakīni*) Vaghbata II Su. VI. Kauṭilya calls it *Coca* See *Coca*.

64. *Udbbeda*. (a kind of salt). Caraka Su. I. 88.89. See *Audbbid*.

65. *Uśīra*. (Hindi-*Khas*) Kauṭilya.

66. *Vaca*. (Lerumbet, Hindi-*Baca*). It is also called *Sthūla granthi*.
67. *Vibbitaka*. (*Terminalia blenca*). See fruits.
68. *Vistvabbesaja*. See *Suṣṭhi* Caraka. *Haritavarga*.
69. *Yavakṣāra*. (Nitre, Hindi-*Javākhār*) *Suṣruta*.
70. *Yavāni*. (*Hyoscyamus niger*, Hindi-*Khurāsāni* *Ajāvāyana*) Caraka Su. 27.168.

APPENDIX VII
FOOD PREPARATIONS

A.—Vegetarian

1. *Abhyūṣa*. Green barley in ears when parched and beaten with a pestle and mixed with *guḍa*. (Pāṇini, Apūpādivarga, Amara. Vaiśya. Vag. I. Su. 10. 66).

2. *Ambatthika*. A sweet prepared with mango. (Angv. p. 182).

3. *Ambila*. (Hindi—*Sirkā*)—Vinegar. It is called *Sukta* or *Cukra* in the medical works. (Jātakas, Caraka Su. 27, 284. Suśruta Su. 45.212).

4. *Amikṣā*. Solid part of a mixture of curds and boiled milk. (Yajurveda and Sat. Bra. III. 3.3.2.)

5. *Apāpa*. (Hindi—*Pnā*)—A cake made of rice or barley meal cooked in clarified butter on slow fire. Honey was mixed to sweeten it. It is probably the earliest sweet known to us. (Rv. x. 45.9). Cakes prepared with broken pieces of rice are also mentioned (*Kanapūvam*, J. 109 and Jain canon). Pāṇini mentions *apāpas* stuffed with fried wheat flour (*cūrṇitāb apāpāb*). Caraka (Su. 27.268) mentions *pūpas* prepared with the addition of milk and juice of sugarcane. (*Kṣitikṣurasa pūpakāb*). Vagbhata I mentions five varieties of cakes:—

(1) Cooked in a pit heated with chaff fire (*Kukūlapakva*).

(2) Cooked in an earthen potsherd (*Kārpara-pakva*).

(3) Cooked in a *Bbrāṣṭra* (*Bbrāṣṭra pakva*).

(4) Cooked in a *kandu* (*Tandūra* in Hindi) (*Kandu pakva*) and

(5) Cooked on live charcoals. (*Āngāra pakva*).

6. *Āsuta*. Vegetables preserved in vinegar. Suśruta Su. 45. 211.

7. *Aukula*. Green cereals in ears when parched. Vag. I. Su. X. 66.

8. *Avarāṇna*. Pulses cooked with spices. First mentioned by Baudhayana. (Dh. Su. IV. 7.7. and Gr. Su. II. 8.4.) The Anguttara Nikaya IV. 108.112 calls it *Aparappa*. (See Dr. Gode's article on *Avarāṇna*).

9. *Bbhakṣya*. (*Mitbāi* in Hindi) Sweets in general. Good quality sweets are called *Uccāvaca bhakṣya* (Rām. 61.14). In Suśruta's time sweets were dressed with fruits, meat, preparations of sugarcane juice and *māṣa*. (Suśruta Su. 46).

10. *Bhakta*. Same as *Odana* (Pāṇini IV. 4.10. Early Buddhist canon and later).

11. *Bharūja*. Same as *Dhānāḥ*. (Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.19).

12. *Bhr̥ṣṭadbānya*. (Fried grains). Caraka (Cikitsā 20.37) shows that parched grains such as *Mudga*, *Masūra* and *Kalāya* were in common use. (See Dr. P. K. Gode's Article on Fried Grains A. B. O. R. I. Vol. XXVII pages 56-82).

13. *Bhūtakūraka*. A mixture of curds, groats, parched rice and sesame which was used to drive away evil spirits. (Angv. p. 64).

14. *Caṇakauḍana*. Rice cooked with gram pulse. (Matsya Pu. 268. 6-30).

15. *Caru*—cooked rice from which water was not strained. The grains became soft but remained distinct (Sabara on Jaim. X. 1.42.).

16. *Citrānna*. A cooked preparation of many cereals? (Baudh. Gr. Sesa. Su. p. 206. Yaj. Sm. I. 304).

17. *Dadhanvat*. Probably a kind of cheese with two varieties one with pores and the other without pores. (Rv. VI. 48. 18.)

18. *Dadbiṣara*. Cream of curds. (Mṛcchakaṭīka. Act. I. p. 47 Cal. 1938).

19. *Dadbyodana*. (*Dabi Cāval* in Hindi) Boiled rice mixed with curds. Brhad. Up. VI. 4.15.

20. *Dhānāḥ*. (Hindi-Bauri) Parched barley. (Rv. I. 16.2. etc.) Sprouted and parched barley is also mentioned (Caraka Su. 27.265).

21. *Dbosaka*. A saline preparation of pulses mixed with spices and fried in clarified butter (Mānasollāsa III. 1491-1494).

22. *Divālikā*. (Hindi-Matbari or *Divale*) Saline small cakes prepared with wheat flour fried in clarified butter. (Angv. p. 182).

23. *Dugdbandana*. Boiled rice mixed with milk. (Angv. p. 64).

24. *Gandika*. Sweets of wheat flour with *gūḍa* stuffed inside. (Suśruta. Su. 46.394).

25. *Gbārikā*. (*Gbarage* in Marathi) Round cakes of *Māṣa*

flour with five or seven holes fried in oil till their colour became red. (Mānasollāsa III. 1401-1403).

26. *Ghayapūṇa*. See *Gṛṭapūra*. (Uva. I. 34).

27. *Gbola*. (Hindi-*Lassi*) Curds churned with entire butter in it. (Suśruta Su. 45.83).

28. *Gṛṭaudana*. Boiled rice mixed with clarified butter. (Sankh Aran. XII. 8.)

29. *Gṛṭapūra*. (Hindi-*Ghevara*). A cake prepared with fine wheat flour mixed with milk, and fried in ghee. It is then coated with sugar. Also called *Havispūra*. (Suśruta Su. 46, Uva. I. 34).

30. *Gṛṭaudana*. Rice boiled with treacle. (Baudh. Gr. Sesā Su., p. 258, Bharata III. 36-39. Augv., p. 64).

31. *Gulalavāṇiya Gōl papadi* in Gujarati. Early Jain canon.

32. *Haiyamigavīna*. Butter churned out of the curds prepared from the previous day's milk. (Suśruta. Su. 45.94).

33. *Haridrodana*. Rice cooked with turmeric. (Baudh. Gr. Sesā. Su., p. 258).

34. *Holaka*. Same as *Ulumbāb*.

35. *Idarikā*. Circular balls of fermented fine *Māṣa* flour fried in clarified butter. Spices were mixed before eating. (Mānasollāsa XIII. 1400-1401).

36. *Iṣṭaka*. A sweet preparation mentioned in the Vāyu Purāṇa. (80.47).

37. *Kaccara*. The dry pieces of a cucumber fried in ghee or oil. (Bhavisayatṭa-kahā XII 3. Vilāsavatikathā).

38. *Kāmbalika*. A soup prepared with whey, some roots, viscous sediment of sesame and vinegar. (Suśruta. Su. 46. 381).

39. *Kāñjika*. According to Dr. Burrow sour rice gruel was used by Dravidians. It was very popular in Kāñcī and Avanti. Two varieties are mentioned in the Suśruta (Su. 45. 213-214), one prepared with the husk of cereals (*tuṣāmbu*) and the other prepared with food grains (*Dbānyāmla*) (Vin. I. 203, Amar. II. 9.39).

40. *Karambba*. (Hindi-*Dabī-Sattu*). A kind of porridge made of parched barley flour mixed with curds, clarified butter or *Soma* juice. (Rv. III. 52.7. etc.)

41. *Kāsāra*. (Hindi-*Kasār*) A preparation of wheat flour fried in ghee and mixed with milk, granulated sugar and aromatic spices. (Mānasollāsa III. 1386-87).

42. *Kaṭakarṇa*. (Hindi-*Kalmi Baṭṭe*) Preparation of pea pulse ground, fumigated, and mixed with spices and fried in clarified butter. (Mānasollāsa III. 1394-97.)

43. *Kaṭṭabapijja*. A gruel prepared from rice fried in clarified butter (Uva. I. 33.).

44. *Khaṭa*. A soup prepared from fruits. (Dalhaṇa on Suśruta. Su. 46 S. 376, Angv., p. 179) or a preparation of sediment of sesame cooked with aromatic spices. (Nala on Suśruta Su. 46.381.)

45. *Khajjaka*. (Hindi-*Khājā*) A preparation of wheat flour fried in ghee. (Suśruta Su. 46. 399) Sweet *Khajjakas* are also mentioned (Uva. I. 34).

46. *Khaṇḍapāka* or *Khaṇḍava* (Hindi-*Khaṇḍki mitbāī*) sweets prepared from sugarcandy. (Ram. Bal 53.4).

47. *Kilāṭa*. Liquid part of inspissated milk but Dalhaṇa uses the word in the sense of solid part. (Kauṭilya II. 29.27., Caraka Su. V. 9, Suśruta Su. 46).

48. *Kṛsara*. A dish prepared with sesamum and rice cooked in milk. In Dalhaṇa's time it was a dish prepared with Sesamum, rice and *Māṣa*. (Av. V. 5 Sad. Bra. V. 2 and Gṛhya Sūtras).

49. *Kṣāralavāṇa*. Saline preparations which were probably highly spiced. (Gṛhya Sūtras).

50. *Kṣīraudana*. (Hindi-*khīr*). The Rv. (VIII 77.10) has *Kṣīrapākam odanam*. Rice cooked with milk.

51. *Kṣīraprakāra*. A sweet preparation from boiled milk inspissated by the addition of some sour substance. Solid part was mixed with rice flour, formed into various shapes, fried and coated with sugar. (Modern-Rasgullas?) (Mānasollāsa III. 1408-11.)

52. *Kṣīraṣṭīka*. Şaṣṭīka rice cooked with milk. (Yaj. Sm. I. 303, Angv., p. 64).

53. *Kṣīravāṭa*. Fried balls of *Māṣa* pulse poured into milk and mixed with sugar. (Naisadha XVI. 98, Manas III. 1594).

54. *Kṣīrayaṣṭīka*. A preparation of milk mentioned in the Agni Purāṇa. (163.10).

55. *Kulatthakūṭa*. Rice cooked with Kulattha pulse. (Angv., p. 64).

56. *Kulmāṣa*. (*Gburgri* in Hindi) Probably the early Dravidians used this preparation. It was a coarse gruel prepared by

stewing some inferior food grain and mixing it with treacle and oil. (Chand. Up. I. 10.2).

57. *Kūra*. Same as *Odana*. The Angv. also mentions rice cooked with oil, with mustard and with leaves. (Angv., p. 64).

58. *Kūrcikā*. Solid part of inspissated milk. (Kautilya II. 29.26, Caraka Su. V. 9).

59. *Kūrcikāb vikṛtib*. (Hindi-*Phate bue dūdb ke khos ki Mitbā*) Preparations from inspissated milk (Suśruta Su. 46.403).

60. *Ladduka*. Same as *Modaka*. (Naisadha XVI 103, Bhavisayatta XII. 3).

61. *Lājāb*. (Hindi-*Dbān-ki khil*). Parched rice. (Yaj. Sam. XIX. 13 etc. Also see *Madbulājāb*).

62. *Lājamānda*. A beverage prepared with parched rice (Av. V. 5.1).

63. *Locikā*. Delicious cakes prepared with wheat flour. Probably which we call *Lučai* in Hindi (Bharata III. 36-39).

64. *Madbugolaka*. Same as *Modakas*. (Vin. Mv. I. 43. VI. 25.3.)

65. *Madbulājāb*. Parched rice grains mixed with honey or *Guḍa*. (J. 476. etc. Kaut. II. 15. Ram. Ay. 91.56.)

66. *Madbumastaka*. (Hindi-*Pūrānpolī*) A kind of cake prepared from wheat flour stuffed with honey and aromatic spices and cooked in ghee. Caraka (Su. 27. 265) calls *Madhusīrṣaka*.

67. *Madbuparka*. A mixture of curds, honey and clarified butter (Brhad. Up. VI. 4.46).

68. *Majjikā*. Curds churned and mixed with sugar and aromatic spices (Mānasollāsa III. 1573).

69. *Maṇḍa*. A gruel prepared with one part of some cereal or pulse mixed with fourteen parts of water in which salt and spices were used. (Caraka Su. VI. 28).

70. *Maṇḍaka*. (Hindi-*Māṇḍe*) Loaf of bread prepared with powdered wheat or rice flour and mixed with salt, milk and clarified butter. It was baked in a potsherd. (Mānsollāsa III) The Angv. (p. 182) calls it *Maṇḍallaka* and the Divyāvadāna (p. 258) *Maṇḍalikā*. According to Srikanṭhadatta same as *Madbumastaka*.

71. *Manīha*. A paste prepared with parched barley or rice meal mixed with honey water or curds. (Pāṇini VI. 3.60, Asv. Gr. Su. II. 5.3, Caraka Su. VI. 28, Suśruta Su. 46.385).

72. *Mathita*. Curds churned without water. (Mānasollāsa III. 1571).

73. *Modaka*. (Hindi-*Laddū*) Sweets balls prepared with the flour of rice or some pulse and sugar. (Mbh. Anu. 53.18 Angv., p. 182., Ram. Ay. 91.93, Suśruta Su. 46.396).

74. *Moreṇdaka*. (Hindi-*Muraṇḍe*) A sweet prepared with inspissated milk in the shape of the eggs of a peacock. (Angv., p. 182).

75. *Mr̄ṣṭānna*. (Hindi-*Svadīṣṭa bhojana*) Savoury agreeable dishes. (Ram. Bal. 53.3, Bharata III. 36-39).

76. *Mudgaudana*. Rice boiled with *Mudga* pulse. (Sankh. Aran. XII. 8.)

77. *Murmura*. A sweet preparation of wheat flour, *gūḍa* and some aromatic spices. (Brahma Purāṇa).

78. *Navanita*. In the time of Suśruta it meant fresh butter churned out of milk (Su. 45.93). Later the word was used in the sense of butter in general.

79. *Odana*. According to Dr. Burrow the Dravidians used boiled rice. In the Rv. (VIII. 69.14) it has the sense of a mess but in the Av. (IV. 14.7) and later boiled rice. It is called *Uday-dana* in the Brhad. Up. (VI. 4.16.) Suśruta (Su. 46) mentions two varieties of *Odana* one in which rice was well washed (*dbauta*) and the other in which rice was not washed before cooking. *Odana* was prepared with clarified butter, meat, fruit, tubers, pulses and milk.

80. *Pālala*. A sweet preparation made of powdered sesamum and *gūḍa* (Kāśikā VI. 2.135).

81. *Pābulikā*. Cakes of wheat flour fried in oil which were not very hard. (Mānasollāsa III, 1385).

82. *Paiṣṭika Bbaksya*. (Hindi-*Cāval ke ate ki Miṭbāī*) confectionary prepared from rice flour. (Suśruta Su. 46.401).

83. *Pakti*. Either same as *Puroḍāṭa* or a liquid preparation as suggested by Dr. K.R. Potdar. (Rv. IV. 24.5 etc.).

84. *Palakaudana*. See *Tilaudana*.

85. *Pallaudana*. Five kinds of pure food grains were mixed in this preparation.

86. *Paramānna*. It was prepared by boiling 4 parts of rice (in weight) with 12 parts of milk. Six parts of clarified butter

and 3 parts of *Guḍa* were added to it. (Angv., p. 220. *Bhojana Kulūhalā*, p. 28).

87. *Parivāpa*. Same as *lājāb* (Yajurveda).

88. *Parpāta* Very thin cakes prepared with the flour of some pulse. (Caraka Su. 27.271, Angv., p. 182).

89. *Patrikā*. Small circular cakes of wheat flour placed one over the other and fried in oil. (Mānasollāsa III 1385-86).

90. *Pāyasa*. (Hindi-*Khir*) Rice cooked with milk and mixed with sugar. (Gṛhya Sūtras).

91. *Payasyā*. Same as *Āmikṣā*. (Tait. Bra. V. 11).

92. *Phenaka*. (Hindi-*Pheni*) Cakes of fine wheat flour coated with sugar. (Angv., p. 182. Suśruta Su. 46. 399).

93. *Pindaka*. A sweet preparation similar to *Madbumastaka*. (Caraka Su. 27.265).

94. *Piṇḍāka vikṛti*. A preparation with the viscous sediment of sesamum which was used as a dry vegetable. (Dalhaṇa on Suśruta Su. 46.382).

95. *Piṣṭaka*. Probably cakes made of powdered rice. (Pāṇini IV. 3.147).

96. *Polikā*. (a sweet cake, Hindi-*Pauli*) The Angv. (p. 182) calls it *Povalikā*. The Mānsollāsa mentions saline cakes baked on charcoals (*Āṅgārapolikā*) (III, 1375-83).

97. *Pr̥ṣadājya*. A mixture of curds and minute globules of butter in the Vedic times, later a mixture of clarified butter and curds. (Rv. X. 29.6, Tait. Sam. III. 2.62, Amara. Vaiśya.)

98. *Pr̥thuka*. (Hindi-*Civḍā*) Rice seeds when moist are slightly parched and flattened by the strokes of a pestle. (Tait. Bra. III. 8.14.3, Baudh Gr. Su. I. 16.34). Caraka also mentions *Pr̥thukas* prepared with barley. (Su. 27.272).

99. *Pāpa*. Same as *Apāpa*.

100. *Pūpalikā*. (Hindi-*Malpua*) Small cakes of rice or wheat flour fried in ghee with ghee filled inside and coated with *guda* and saffron. (Caraka. Su. 27.266).

101. *Pūraṇa*. Cakes stuffed with boiled and ground *mudga* pulse (*mudga resavāra*) (Vāgbhaṭa I. Su. VII).

102. *Pārikā*. (Hindi-*Pāparā*). A cake prepared with gram flour and fried in oil.

103. *Puroḍāsa*. A large rice cake generally dipped in ghee before use (Mait. Sam. III. 10 and Av. IX. 6.12 etc.).

104. *Rāga*. A sweet liquid preparation from the juice of sour fruits such as tamarind, rose apple, *parūṣaka* and *citrus medica*. (Kaśyapa. Bhojana. 48).

105. *Rāgasādava*. According to some authorities juice of mango fruit cooked with spices and *guḍa* was called *Ragasadava*.

106. *Rājikārāddba*. A preparation of brassica with curds which had a sharp pungent taste (Naiṣadha XVI. 73).

107. *Rasālā*. Same as *Sikbarinī*. (Ram Ay. 91.73. Mdh. Asv. 89.40 Susruta. Su. 46).

108. *Sādava*. A sweet preparation of sour fruits reduced to thick consistency. (Vin. IV. 2.25, Kaśyapa Bhojana. 48).

109. *Sāktu*. (Hindi-*Sattū*) Flour of parched barley or rice grains. (Rv. X. 71.2. Tait. Bra. III 8.14. etc.). They were eaten both as a solid ball (*Piṇḍi*) and a paste which could be licked (*Avalebika*). In Susruta's time *Sāktus* were taken with acidic fruits, ghee, *guḍa*, sugar, juice of sugarcane, grapes and honey mixed with water. (Susruta Su. 46.412).

110. *Sāmitā*. A preparation of powdered wheat flour stuffed with boiled and ground *Mudga* pulse. (Susruta Su. 46. 398).

111. *Samitānikā*. (Hindi-*Malātī*) cream of milk.

112. *Samyāva*. (*Cūrmā* in Hindi) Sweet preparation made of wheat flour fried in ghee and mixed with milk and *guḍa* (Pāṇini III. 3.23). Sometimes aromatic spices were added to it.

113. *Sara*. Originally cream in general, later the sense is restricted to cream of curds. (Sat. Bra. III. 3.3.2).

114. *Sarkarīputrikā*. (*Khand ke khilone* in Hindi) A doll of sugar. (Naiṣadha XVI 104).

115. *Sāskulī*. (Hindi-*Kbastā Pūrī*) A cake prepared with rice flour mixed with sesamum fried in ghee or oil. (Early Jain canon and Susruta Su. 46). The Bṛhat. Saṁ. (76.9) mentions a variety of *Sāskulikā* which excited amorous desires. The Aṅg. (p. 182) calls a variety *Dirghasāskulikā*.

116. *Sattaka*. There were many varieties. One variety was prepared by mixing curds with sugar and aromatic spices. Seeds of pomegranate were added to make it more delicious. Susruta Su. 46.397.

117. *Sauviraka*. Probably in the sense of sour gruel in the Vin. (I.210) and later.

118. *Sevikā*. Thread like preparation from refined wheat flour. (*Vilāsavatikathā*).

119. *Sibakesara*. A sweet preparation mentioned in *Antagadadasāo*, p. 10.

120. *Sikbarīni*. A very popular preparation of curds mixed with aromatic spices and sugar. Also see *Rasālā*. (*Caraka Su.* 27.276).

121. *Sindāki vātaka*. Balls prepared by boiling some vegetables such as radish, pressing them to squeeze water and mixing them with aromatic spices. (*Dalhana* on *Suśruta Su.* 46.382).

122. *Sohlā* or *Subāli*. Cakes of wheat flour fried in oil on a very hot fire and coated with sugar. They were quite hard. (*Bhavisayatta*. XII. 3. *Mānasollāsa* III. 1384).

123. *Srikbanda*. Same as *Sikbarīpi*.

124. *Srikukkuta*. A preparation from oil cake which was acidic in taste. (*Vag.* II *Cikitsā* 12).

125. *Sṛtam*. Boiled milk as distinguished from fresh milk which is called *Pratidhuk*. (*Sat. Bra.* III. 3.3.2).

126. *Stbālipāka*. Rice cooked with milk specially for sacrificial purposes. (*Bṛh. Up.* VI. 4.18, *Asv. Gr. Su.* II. 1.5, 3.19).

127. *Sūpa*. Soups with pulses are mentioned in the early Buddhist and Jain canonical works. *Suśruta* (*Su.* 46.310) mentions that some times pulses were slightly parched before cooking.

128. *Suska Sāka*. *Suśruta* mentions preparations of sesamum, oil cake, sprouted pulses and *Sindāki* under this category.

129. *Svastika*. A kind of cake prepared with barley flour. In shape it has a wider bottom and a pointed top. The sides are marked by signs. (*Suśruta Uttaratantra* 60.33).

130. *Takra*. (Hindi-*Mattbhā*, Buttermilk) It contained three parts of curds with one part of water (*Mānasollāsa*. III 1572).

131. *Takraudana*. Boiled rice mixed with butter milk. (*Angv.*, p. 220).

132. *Temana*. A soup prepared with curds. (*Bhavi.* XII. 3 *Āmara* II. 9.44).

133. *Tilaudana*. Rice and sesamum boiled in water. (*Bṛh. Up.* VI. 4.17). *Yaj. Sm.* XI 287 calls it *Palalaudana*.

134. *Tilavikṛti*. A preparation from sesamum was used as a dry vegetable. (*Dalhana* on *Suśruta Su.* 46.382).

135. *Tilaparpaṇa*. *Parpaṇas* prepared with sesamum are mentioned in the Āca. Su. II. 1.271.

136. *Udatvita*. A solution of curds with equal quantity of water. (Mānasollāsa III. 1571).

137. *Udumbara*. Balls of wheat flour stuffed with *Kāsāra* and fried in oil. (Mānasollāsa III. 1388.)

138. *Ulumbāb*. (Hindi-*Holdā*) Beans of pulses such as *Mudga* and pea roasted on live charcoals. (Suśruta Su. 46.410).

139. *Uṣṇikā*. *Peyā* variety of *Yavāgū* (Pāṇini V. 27. Angv., p. 180).

140. *Utkārikā*. A sweet dish prepared with rice flour, milk, treacle and ghee. Aruṇadatta equates it with *Lapisikā*. (Caraka. Cikitsa 2. Bharata III. 36-39. Div. 500.23).

141. *Uttaribbariga*. Delicacies of food taken after the meals (Vin. II. 214. etc.). It is called *Pacbiyauri* in the Padmāvata, pp. 284-285. It was a sweet dish which was served in the last.

142. *Vaidalāb*. Confectionary made of pulses such as *Mudga*. (Suśruta Su. 46.402) Bower MSS I. 24 uses the word in the sense of cooked pulses.

143. *Vājina*. Liquid part of a mixture of curds and boiled milk. (Sat. Bra. III. 3.3.2).

144. *Varṣopalagolaka*. Sweet balls of rice flour prepared by mixing sugar and the powder of cardamom and camphor. (Naiṣadha XVI. 100, Mānasollāsa III. 1415-1417).

145. *Vartikāb*. Sweets in the form of a roll. (Suśruta Su. 46).

146. *Vataka*. (Hindi-*Bade*) Probably the early Dravidians used *Vatakas*. Balls prepared with *Māṣa* pulse soaked in water and ground on a piece of stone and then fried in oil or ghee (Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 37). The Mānasollāsa mentions *vatakas* dropped in sour gruel (*kāñjika vataka* III. 1404) and another variety called *Manavyataka* (III. 1405-1409).

147. *Vatikā*. (Hindi-*Batiān*) Balls prepared with *Māṣa* pulse soaked in water after removing the outer covering and grinding it on a piece of stone. Before the balls were prepared the ground paste was allowed to ferment for a few days (Mānasollāsa III. 1397-99).

148. *Vātya*. (Hindi-*Daliyā*) Caraka (Su. 27.263.) mentions porridge prepared with parched barley (*Yāvakāb vātyah*).

149. *Vesṭikā*. (Hindi-*Bedavi*) A cake of wheat flour in which gram pulse mixed with aromatic spices is used as stuffing. (Mānasollāsa III. 1391-92).

150. *Vidalapāka*. A soup prepared with pulses of gram, *rājamāṣa*, *masūra*, *rājamudga* and slightly parched *āḍhakī*. The waters of asafoetida, turmeric and rock salt were added to it before use. (Mānasollāsa III 1359-69).

151. *Vimardaka*. A preparation of groats and clarified butter. (Vāgbhaṭa II, Uttara 39).

152. *Virūḍhaka*. Sprouted cereals which were used as dry vegetables and some sweets were also prepared from them. (Suśruta. Su. 46).

153. *Vistārin*. Warm fresh milk with curds. (Av. IV. 34.1).

154. *Visyanda*. A preparation of rice fried in ghee and mixed with treacle which was neither too thick nor too thin in consistency (Suśruta. Su. 46.398).

155. *Vitānaka*. A sweet mentioned in the Matsya Purāṇa 268.6.30.

156. *Vyanjana*. A condiment in the early Buddhist canon. But in the Jain canon it is used in the sense of seasoned food.

157. *Yāvaka*. A porridge prepared by pounding barley with a pestle and mortar to remove the chaff and then boiling the pearl grain in water or milk with sugar added to it. (Pāṇini V. 4.29).

158. *Yavāgū*. In the Yajurveda it seems to be a barley gruel. Rice gruel is mentioned as a wholesome and health giving article of food in the Mahāvagga VI. 24.5. A spiced variety (*Trikaṭuka*) was used in cases of illness (Vin. VI. 17.1). Pāṇini mentions two varieties of *yavāgū* one which was taken in liquid form (*peyā*) and the other which was licked as a paste (*vilepi*). The latter is called *Nakhamipata* by Pāṇini because it scorched the ends of fingers. Caraka mentions a *peyā* prepared with parched rice (*lājapeyā*). The *Āngorijjā* (p. 179) mentions *yavāgūs* prepared with milk, clarified butter and oil. Suśruta (Su.46.376) means a gruel prepared with fruit juices which he calls *Khaḍa yavāgū*.

159. *Yūṣa*. A soup generally prepared by cooking cereals and pulses with buttermilk, but the Kāśyapa. Saṁ. (p. 250. 19.24)

also mentions *Yūṣas* prepared with fruits, vegetables and spices. (Dalhaṇa on Suśruta. Su. 46.376).

B.—Non-vegetarian Preparations.

1. *Angārapakvam māṁsam*. Meat roasted on live charcoal. It is also called *Pratapta*. (Early Jain canon, Mṛcchakatīka, p. 98).

2. *Antraśuṇthaka*. *Suṇthakas* prepared with entrails, well washed and roasted on spikes, mixed with salt. (Manas III. 1492-93).

3. *Bhaditraka*. Pieces of clean meat, bored with some holes which were filled with some spices, these pieces were roasted on spits and some spices were added. (Manas III. 1462-68).

4. *Bbarjitatamāṁsa*. Meat fried in ghee or oil. (Suśruta Su. 46.357-58, Early Jain canon).

5. *Bhr̥ṣṭa māṁsa*. Meat fried in ample quantity of clarified butter. (Dalhaṇa on Suśruta. Su. 46.353).

6. *Bbūṣikā*. *Vaṭakas* of pasted meat prepared with some roasted and spiced meat inside. (Manas III. 1476-81).

7. *Cakkalikās*. Were *Suṇthakas* cut in the form of palm leaves which were dropped in curds mixed with sugar and some aromatic spices. (Manas. III 1436-37).

8. *Dakalāvanīka*. Meat soup prepared with salt, dryginger etc. (Vagbhata II. Cikitsa).

9. *Kandupācīta Māṁsa*. Meat prepared with aromatic spices and covered with brassica powder which was roasted in a *kandu* (oven) till it was deep red in colour. (Suśruta. Su. 46.356).

10. *Kavacandī*. Flesh of a sheep carved into the form of plums was mixed with some powdered spices, and grams and fried in oil with pieces of some vegetables. (Manas III 1453-56).

11. *Khanīka*. Dalhaṇa mentions it as a kind of *Vesavāra*.

12. *Kosali*. *Vaṭakas* of pasted meat covered with grains of rice and roasted on fire. (Manas. III. 1476-82).

13. *Kṛṣṇapāka*. Flesh of sheep dressed in the shape of betelnuts and cooked with some blood, sour fruits and spices. (Manas. III. 1473-75).

14. *Māṁsaudana*. Meat cooked with rice (Br̥had. Up. VI. 4.18). The Mahābhārata (Sabhā 49.9.) calls it *Pisitandana*. (Patañjali II.3.1. p. 459 1.1.)

15. *Māṁsabbūtaudana*. A tasty preparation of meat, rice, vegetables and spices cooked together. (Rām. Ay. 52.89).
16. *Māṁsasiddha amla yavāgū*. A sour gruel prepared with meat. (Kāmasūtra, Suśruta. Su. 46.351).
17. *Maṇḍaliya*. Entrails of an animal filled with spices and marrow and roasted on charcoal. (Manas III. 1494-1498).
18. *Niśphāna*. Tasty preparations with the flesh of goats and boars. (Rāmāyaṇa. Ay. 91.67 etc., Amara. Vaiśya 44).
19. *Pāñcavarpī*. Pieces of entrail and liver cooked with spices. (Manas III. 1488-91).
20. *Parīṣṭukamāṁsa*. (Seasoned meat) Kauṭilya puts seasoned meat in the category of vegetables. Raw meat was first fried in ghee then it was soaked in warm water and preserved in spices such as cumin. Its daily use is not recommended in the medical works. (Kauṭilya II. 15.22, Caraka. Su. V.10.)
21. *Piṣṭa*. Meat pasted, formed into balls and cooked with curds, juice of pomegranates, and aromatic spices. (Suśruta Su. 46.)
22. *Pradigdbamāṁsa*. Meat cooked with milk and ghee. Sugar was added to make it more delicious. (Kāśyapa Saṁ., p. 359, Suśruta. Su. 46.353.)
23. *Pūrabbaṭṭāka*. Fruit of brinjal filled with pasted meat and fried in oil. (Manas. III. 1483-85).
24. *Puryalā*. Pieces of clean meat chopped in the form of *Āmalaka* fruit cooked with spices, acid fruits, and *Suṇṭhakas* and fumigated with garlic and asafoetida. (Manas III. 1457-61).
25. *Rasa*. Meat soup. Sometimes the expression *Māṁsa rasa* is used. (Suśruta Su. 46. 376., Bower MSS. II. 14).
26. *Saurāva*. The upper part of meat soup. (Suśruta Su. 46.362).
27. *Siddhamāṁsa*. Meat seasoned by frying in ghee with cumin, salt and pepper. (Early Jain canon. and Suśruta. Su. 46).
28. *Sūlya Māṁsa*. Meat roasted on spikes. (Rv. I.162.11, Pāṇini IV.2.17, Uttara XIX. 70, Śakuntalā III).
29. *Suṇṭhaka*. Pieces were cut from the roasted body of a pig and again roasted on fire. The pieces were then mixed with the powder of salt and black pepper. (Manas. III. 1430-35).
30. *Ullupta Māṁsa*. Minced meat. (Suśruta. Su. 46.354).

31. *Vattimaka*. Pasted meat formed into the shape of ball and roasted on fire or fried in oil. (Manas. III. 1486-87).

32. *Vesavāra*. Boneless flesh boiled and pasted on a piece of stone with some aromatic spices. It was cooked in ghee with *guḍa*. (Mbh. Anu. 53. 17, Susruta Su. 46.364-65).

33. *Vimardaka*. A meat preparation made by dressing meat in various ways. (Caraka. Su. 27.276).

34. *Vṛṣya Pūpalikā*. An omelet made of clarified butter, rice flour and eggs of crocodile. (Caraka. Cikitsā II. 28-29).

35. *Yūṣan*. Meat boiled in pots. (Rv. I. 162.13). A thin decoction of meat soup is called *acbarasaka yūṣa* in the Kāma-sūtra (II. 10.15).

APPENDIX VIII

BEVERAGES

A. Intoxicating Drinks

1. *Aksiki Sidbu*. Prepared from *Aksa* fruit. (Caraka Su. 27.184).
2. *Ariṣṭa*. A tincture of medicines in which solid ingredients predominate. (Kaut. II. 25.21, Caraka Su. 2. 180 Suśruta Su. 45.194).
3. *Āsava*. An extract of *Kapittha*, (Ferronia elephantidin) inspissated juice of sugarcane and honey with some spices. In this drink the liquid part predominates. (Kauṭilya II. 25.19 and 29, Suśruta Su. 45.194).
4. *Avadātikā*. A variety of wine mentioned by Pāṇini V.4.3.
5. *Bakkasa*. Solid ingredients of liquor devoid of liquid part. (Suśruta. Su. 45.181).
6. *Bijottardā*. A variety of liquor mentioned by Kaut. II. 25.
7. *Dhātakyaabbisuta*. Prepared from the flowers of *Dhātaki* (Caraka Su. 27.186).
8. *Divyā*. An intoxicating drink prepared from the bark of *Kadamba* tree.
9. *Gaudī*. Intoxicating drinks prepared from *Guḍa* (Manu XI.95). *Gaudyāsava* was an *āsava* from *guḍa*.
10. *Hārabūraka*. A wine imported from Afghanistan. (Kaut. II. 25.25).
11. *Jagala*. Residue of *Surā*. (Caraka Su. 27.179. Suśruta Su. 45.180).
12. *Jāti*. An intoxicating drink prepared from *Jati* flowers. (Vipaka II. 19).
13. *Kādambārī*. Distilled from ripe *Kadamba* fruit. (Amara. II. 10. 40).
14. *Kālikā*. A variety of wine mentioned by Pāṇini (V.4.3).
15. *Kāpiśāyanī*. A variety of wine imported from Afghanistan. (Pāṇini IV. 2.29, Kauṭilya II. 25.25).

16. *Kaṣāya*. Decoctions of rice meal and flowers. (Pāṇini VI.2.10).
17. *Kaula*. Prepared from jujube fruit. (Viṣṇu Dh. Su. 22.83).
18. *Kharjūra*. Prepared from dates. (Viṣṇu Dh. Su. 22.83, Suśruta Su. 45.174).
19. *Kilāla*. A sweet drink prepared from cereals. (Av. IV.11.10 etc.).
20. *Kobala*. It was prepared from parched barley flour.
21. *Kṛta Surā*. Fermented *sura*. (Ram. Sundara 11. 22-3).
22. *Mādbhī*. A liquor prepared from honey. (Manu XI. 95).
23. *Mādbhī*. An intoxicating drink prepared from *Madbūka* flowers. (Mbh. Virat. 16.3).
24. *Madbhāṣava*. An *āsava* prepared from *Madbūka* flowers. (Ram. Sundara. 11.23, Caraka Su. 27.185).
25. *Madīrā*. Cream of *Surā*. (Mbh. Santi. 24.20. Caraka. Su. 27.178).
26. *Madya*. All kinds of strong liquors. (Caraka. Su. 27.191).
27. *Maireya*. Spiced liquor with *guḍa* or sugar prepared from the bark of *meṣaṭrīgi*. (*gynema sylvestre*). It was a favourite drink of the aristocratic circles. (Pāṇini VI. 2.70, Kaut. II. 25.22, Caraka Su. 27. 185.)
28. *Mārdvīka*. Wine from grapes. It is called *Madhu* by Kauṭilya. (Kauṭilya II. 25.24, Suśruta Su. 45.172, Viṣṇu Dh. Su. 22.83).
29. *Māsara*. A fermented liquor prepared with a mixture of mess of rice (*Syāmāka*) and some spices. From Dr. Burrow's studies we conclude that this variety was used by the ancient Dravidians. (Yajurveda, Katya. Sr. Su. XIX. 1.20.22).
30. *Medaka*. A variety of *surā* prepared from rice, yeast cake, honey and some spices. (Kauṭilya II. 25.7).
31. *Nārikelāsava*. Prepared from the juice of cocoanut. (Viṣṇu Dh. Su. 22.83, Ragh. IV. 65).
32. *Paiṣṭi*. *Surā* prepared from rice or barley meal. (Manu XI. 94-95).
33. *Parisruta*. An intoxicating drink prepared either from flowers or by fermenting certain grasses (Av. XX. 127.7-8).

34. *Phalāsava*. An *āsava* prepared from fruits such as date fruit. (Ram. Sundara. 11.23).

35. *Prasannā*. A variety of *surd* prepared with rice meal and some spices which had often an oily substance. It is called cream of *surā*. (Kauṭilya. II. 25.18 Suśruta Su. 45.178).

36. *Puspāsava*. An *āsava* prepared from flowers such as those of *Madbūka*. (Ram. Sundara. 11.23).

37. *Rasottarā*. Prepared from the juice of sugarcane. (Kaut. II. 25).

38. *Sahakārasurā*. Prepared from the juice of mango fruit. (Kaut. II. 25).

39. *Sāmbhārīkī*. A liquor in which the spices predominate e.g. *Maireya*. (Kaut. II.25).

40. *Sarkarāsava* or *Sarkarāśidbu*. An *āsava* prepared from red sugar. (Ram. Sundara. 11.23. Caraka. Su. 27.181).

41. *Satau*. A strong intoxicating drink which did not lose its true nature even when diluted a hundred times. (Jambu. 20. p. 99 f.).

42. *Sidbu*. Prepared with the juice of sugarcane and *dhātakī* flowers. It seems to have been a favourite drink of non Aryans. (Rama. Sundara. 11.26 and 32). Two kinds of *Sidbus* are mentioned one prepared from boiled juice. (Caraka Su. 27.182) and the other from unboiled juice. (Caraka Su. 27.183).

43. *Surā*. Generally prepared with barley or rice flour, but sometimes *Madbūlikā* variety of wheat was also used. (Caraka Su. 27.188). It was an intoxicating drink of the common people in the Vedic period. (Rv. VIII. 2.12. etc.).

44. *Surāsava*. An *āsava* in which *surd* was used in place of water. (Caraka. Su. 27.185).

45. *Svetasurā*. Same spices were used in it as in preparing the *Prasannā* variety.

46. *Tālakka*. An intoxicating drink prepared from palm fruit. From Dr. Burrow's studies we conclude that the ancient Dravidians knew the art of toddy tapping. From the account of Pliny it is clear that palm liquor was used by Indians before the 1st century A.D. (Jiva III. 264).

47. *Tarka*. Prepared from the fruit of *Kapittha*. (Viśṇu Dh. Su. 22.83).

48. *Vāruṇi*. A strong liquor prepared by fermenting the juices of palm fruit and dates. It brought about unconsciousness as soon as it was drunk. (Ram Ay. 114.20).

B. Other Beverages

1. *Ācāma*. Scum of boiled rice. (Aca. I. 642).
2. *Āmalaka pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of *Āmalaka*. (Aca. I. 599).
3. *Āmlikā pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of tamarind. (Aca. II. 1.264).
4. *Āmra pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of mango fruit. (Vin. I. 246, Aca. I. 599).
5. *Āmrātaka pāna*. Syrup prepared with the juice of hog plum. (Aca. I. 599).
6. *Anna rasa*. Drinks prepared from cereals or pulses. (Rama Ay. 54.18).
7. *Ciñcā pānaka*. A drink prepared by mixing milk with the juice of tamarind and straining the mixture in a clean piece of cloth. It was mixed with crystal sugar and powder of cardamom (Manas. III. 1581-84).
8. *Cocapāna*. Syrup prepared with the juice of plantain. (Vin. I. 246).
9. *Cūrṇādbivāsin*. Water boiled with the powder of cloves, camphor, saffron, sandal wood, *ustra*, *citraka*, *karikola*, *baritaki* and *karcūra*, all taken in equal quantities. (Manas. III 1622-23).
10. *Dādima pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of pomegranate. (Aca. I. 599).
11. *Dhānyāmla*. See vegetarian preparation.
12. *Drāksāpānaka*. Syrup prepared with grape juice. (Caraka Su. 27).
13. *Gudodaka*. Water mixed with *gūḍa*. (Mahāvagga VI. 27) Suśruta mentions two varieties, one acidic and the other sweet. (Su. 46.388).
14. *Hamsodaka*. Water boiled by the rays of the Sun during the day and cooled by the rays of the Moon at night. (Manas III. 1616).
15. *Himapānaka*. A syrup prepared with snow is mentioned by *Dalhaṇa*.
16. *Iksurasa*. The juice of sugarcane. (Caraka Su. 27).

17. *Jambū pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of rose apple. (Vin. I. 246).
18. *Kāñjika*. Sour gruel was prepared from cereals. (Caraka Su. 27).
19. *Kapittba pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of *Kapittba* fruit. (Aca. I. 599).
20. *Karīra pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the fruit of *Karīra*. (Aca. I. 599).
21. *Karkandbu pānaka*. It was prepared by pounding berries, treacle, black pepper, saffron, cardamom and mixing it with the juice of *Jāti* flowers. (Bhela. Sam. p. 218).
22. *Kāśmarya pānaka*. To make this *pānaka* juices of *kāśmarya*, *madhūkā*, *parūṣaka*, grapes and pomegranate were mixed with the powder of *kūṭaja*, *madhūkā*, *lodbra*, *mañjisṭha*, cardamom and long pepper. Water was added to the mixture. (Bhela. Sam. p. 219).
23. *Khaṇḍapānaka*. Syrup made from raw sugar. (Suśruta Su. 46.389).
24. *Kbarjūra pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice of dates. (Caraka Su. 27.277, Aca. Su. II. 1.264, Vag. II. 3.32).
25. *Kola pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice of jujube. (Aca. Su. II. 1.264. Caraka. 27.277).
26. *Lakuca pānaka*. Juice of *Lakuca* fruit. (Vayu. 46.9).
27. *Madbu pānaka*. Syrup prepared by mixing water with honey. (Vin. I. 246, Caraka Su. 27.278, Vag. II. Su. III. 32).
28. *Mātulīnga pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of *Citrus medica*. (Aca. II. 1.266).
29. *Mōca pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice of coconut fruit. (Vin. I. 246, Aca. II. 1.264).
30. *Mṛdviķā pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of grapes. (Vin. I. 246, Aca. Su. II. 1.264, Suśruta. Su. 46.388) Caraka calls it *Drāksā pānaka*.
31. *Nārikela pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice of Cocoanut fruit. Aca. I. 599.
32. *Nimbuka pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of lemon. (Caraka. Su. 27).
33. *Pāñcāmyta*. The juices of any three of cocoanut, mango, jack and banana fruits mixed with honey and sugar. (Baudh. Gr. Ses. Su., p. 277).

34. *Pañcadaśa*. A strong mixture of *Soma* juice. *Rv. X.*
27.2.

35. *Pañca sāra pānaka*. A drink prepared by boiling water with five spices such as ginger, *Asana* and *Nāgaramothbā*. (Vag. II. III. 31.) *Someśvara* (*Manas* III. 1622-23) calls a similar drink *Cūrṇādhivāśin*.

36. *Parūṣaka pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice of *Parūṣaka* fruit. (*Vin. I.* 246, *Caraka Su.* 27.278).

37. *Pindavāsa*. Water prepared by pouring into it a clay ball stuffed with some spices after roasting it in the live charcoal of *khadira* wood. (*Manas* III. 1619-20).

38. *Pratipāna*. A drink which helps the digestion of food. (*Ram. Ay.* 91.78).

39. *Puspavāsa*. Water fumigated with the juice of mango fruit, and flowers of *Pātala*, *utpalā* and *cāmapaka*. (*Manas* III. 1621).

40. *Rāga*. See vegetarian preparations. (Vag. II. 6.30).

41. *Rasālā*. See vegetarian preparations. (Vag. II. 6.30).

42. *Sāḍava*. See vegetarian preparations. (Vag. II. 6.30).

43. *Sarkarāpānaka*. Water mixed with sugar. (*J. I.* 339, *Suśruta Su.* 46. 388-89).

44. *Sāluka pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice extracted from the roots of waterlily. (*Vin. I.* 246).

45. *Sauvīra*. Same as *Dhānyāmla*. (*Aca. I.* 642).

46. *Soma* juice. The *Soma* plant grew on the mountains especially on the mountain *Maujavanta* which is a part of the Himalayas. It was obtained with difficulty in the later Vedic period hence many substitutes were suggested. Some scholars have explained *Soma* juice as an intoxicating drink like liquor but the evidence before us does not justify the conclusion. *Soma* juice was mixed with milk, with curds and parched barley flour but liquor is never mixed with these things. Prof. J. C. Ray was of opinion that *Soma* plant was nothing but *Bhang* because both are annuals coming up at the beginning of the rainy season, both have shining leaves and the method of preparation of both is the same and effects of the drink on the consumer remarkably agree. In spite of so many similarities pointed by Prof. Ray, the identification seems hardly convincing in view of the fact that the plant had become almost extinct even in the later

Vedic period and the intoxicating effect which *Bhang* has on the consumer is no where described in the Vedic literature. Watt in the Dicy. of Eco. Products of India Vol. II., p. 246-47 in 1889 had identified the plant with *Ephedra* and Dr. J.M. Unwala has, on the basis of Vedic and Avestan references, come to the same conclusion. Soma juice was a favourite drink of the Vedic Indians (Rv. IX etc.) and occupied an important place in the Vedic ritual even in the Dharmasūtras.

47. *Tilodaka*. Water mixed with sesamum (Patañjali on VI. 2.96).

48. *Tusodaka*. Water mixed with chaff (Aca. I. 642).

49. *Vārkṣa*. The juice of the fruit of cocoanut. (Mānāsollāsa III. 1615).

50. *Yavodaka*. Water mixed with barley grains. (Aca. I. 642).

51. *Yāṣa*. Juices of *Kapittha*, *bilva*, jujube, grapes, pomegranate and mango were cooked to prepare soups (Kas. Sam. p. 250.46).

APPENDIX IX

BOOKS ON FOOD AND DRINKS CONSULTED
BY THE AUTHOR

1. Ancient Indian life by J. C. Ray, Chapter II Calcutta, 1948.
2. *Annapūna Vidhi* ascribed to Suṣena. Tanjore, 1950.
3. *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya* by Vāgbhaṭa II Sūtra, Chapter V, VI and VIII.
4. *Aṣṭāṅga Saṅgraha* by Vāgbhaṭa I Sūtra Ch. VI and VII.
5. *Bhojana Kutūhala*—by Raghunātha.
6. *Caraka Saṅhitā* with the commentary of Cakrapāṇidatta, Sūtra Ch. 27.
7. History of Dharmasāstra Vol. II Part II. Ch. XXII by P. V. Kane, Poona, 1941.
8. India as described in Jain Canon by J. C. Jain, Chapter IV.
9. India as known to Pāṇini by V. S. Agrawal, Ch. III Sec. 6, Lucknow, 1953.
10. India in the Time of Patañjali by B. N. Puri (Bombay, 1957) Chapter, IV.
11. Kāśyapa Saṅhitā—*Bbojana Kalpādhyāya*, *Kbila Sthāna-Yuṣa*, *Pāṇiya*, *Māṇisa*, *Deśasātmya*.
12. Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization by Sir John Marshall Vol. I. Chapter 4.
13. Pākadarpaṇa ascribed to Nala.
14. Social and Religious Life in the Gṛhya Sūtras by V. M. Apte, Chapter IX.
15. Some Aspects of Indian Civilization, Ch. II, by G. P. Majumdar.
16. Suśruta Saṅhitā with the commentary of Ḍalhaṇa. Sūtra. Chs. 45-46.
17. Tāmbūla Mañjari—by J. S. Pade M. S. University Baroda Oriental Series, 1957.

Other books mentioned by Dr. P. K. Godc, in his article on the History of *Jalbi* (New Indian Antiquity Vol. 6 1943-44).

1. *Bhāvaprakāśa* of Bhāvamīśra.
2. *Vanauṣadhi Guṇādarśa* by Pade Sastri.

3. Pākaśāstra by Yaśodā Devī.
4. Rīkamapanaci—Kāmagiri.
5. Gṛhiṇīmitra—Lakṣmībāi Dhurandhar.
6. Caryā Padmākara—Satyaśodhaka Press.
7. Pāka Darpaṇa—Ahmedabad Press.
8. Caryā Candrodaya—Datta Rama Pathaka.
9. Rasa Vyāñjana Prakāśa—Gāṅgā Viṣṇu Śrīkṛṣṇa Dās.
10. Vyāñjana Pāka Pradīpa—Siddhakavi.
11. Bhojana Darpana Mālā—N. R. Kadam.
12. Mahārāṣṭriya Svayam Pāka—Baroda State Series.
13. Pāka Śāstra—Satya Sodhaka Press.
14. Caryā Darpaṇa—Pt. Raghunatha Prasad, Aufre Ch. 7, C.C.I. 332.
15. Pākādi Saṅgraha—Med. B. 4228.
16. Pākādhyāya—Med. Oxf. 3196 B.
4228 dated Samvat 1823 = 1767—A.D.
17. Pākāvali—Med. 1042 Pheh 2
Radh 32
Brhati and Laghvi
Burnell 699
Opper 4007 Peters 3339.

C. C. 1174

18. Pākamārtanda or Pākāvali—Med. B. L. 232.
19. Pākaśāstra—Cookery by Bhimasena, Govt. Oriental Library Madras, 49.
20. Pākārnava—Peters 4.40.
21. Pākāvali—Med. 10.42, 2098 different Peters 4.40.

C. C. 11171.

22. Pākamārtanda on various medicament and their preparation A.K. 932.
23. Pākaśāstra—Cookery—Bd. 983.
24. Pāka Sudhākara—Med. Quoted by the author of Pāka Mārtanda A.K. Pref. p. 17.
25. Pākāvali—Med. by Upādhyāya Sarasvata Kulodbhava. Madras Des Cata. XXIII. Medicine 1918.
26. Madras MSS No. 13381 of Sūpaśāstta is described as a treatise bearing on cookery (108 pp). The work is attributed to Bhimasena (pp. 9009-10 of Madras Cat. XXIII-1818).
27. Gṛhiṇī Śikṣaka Part I.

APPENDIX X

LIST OF ARTICLES ON 'FOOD AND DRINKS'

1. Aiyar, A.K.Y.N.—The Antiquity of some Field and Forest Flora of India Q.J.M.S. (New Series) Vol. XLII 1951-52.
2. Aiyar, L.V.R.—Dravidian Eating and Drinking I.H.Q.36.
3. Burrow, T.—Dravidian Studies VII Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 1947-48 pp. 365-396.
4. Chakravarti, T.N.—Some Flora mentioned in early medical literature of Bengal and some popular taboos about the use of certain fruits and vegetables P.O. Vol. XV 1950.
5. Dharma, P.C.—Some Customs and Beliefs from the Rāmāyaṇa P.O. Vol. II. No. 2 and 3.
6. Dharma, P.C.—Social Life in the Rāmāyaṇa Q.J.M.S. Bengal Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1-19 (1937-38).
7. Diksitar, V.R.R.—South Indian Customs in the Smṛtis. Indian Culture, Calcutta Vol V. 1938-39.
8. Diksitar, V.R.R.—A Note on Cow Veneration in Ancient India. F.W. Thomas Commemoration Volume. Bombay 1939.
9. Divanji, P.C.—Laṅkāvatārasūtra on Non-vegetarian Diet. A.B.O.R.I., Vol. XX, p. 317-332. (1938-39).
10. Ganguli, R.—Cultivation in Ancient India. I.H.Q., 1950-51.
11. Gode, P.K.—History of Alfalfa or *Methikā* between A.D. 700—and A.D. 1800 A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XXXIII, 1953, pp. 171-81.
12. Gode, P.K.—History of *Jondbala*, B.C. Law Commemoration Volume I, pp. 142-158, Calcutta, 1945.
13. Gode, P.K.—Some Notes on the History of Indian Dietetics with special reference to *Jalebī*. New Indian Antiquary Vol. VI, 1943, pp. 169-181.
14. Gode, P.K.—History of *Avarāṇa* Jain Antiquary Vol. II. Jan. 1947, pp. 1-8.
15. Gode, P.K.—Use of Fried Grains in Indian Diet A.B.O.R.I. XXIX. 1948.

16. Gode, P.K.—History of Almond in India A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XXIX, 1948.
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APPENDIX XII

CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT SOURCES

1.	Indus Valley Civilization	C. 3000 B.C.
2.	Maheshwar Neveda Toli Culture	..	..	C. 1200 B.C.
3.	Hastinapur Culture	..	..	C. 800 B.C.
4.	The R̥gveda	..	..	C. 2000 B.C.
5.	The Yajurveda, the Atharvaveda, the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads			Before 800 B.C.
6.	Sūtras and Pāṇini	..	..	800 B.C.—300 B.C.
7.	Early Buddhist Canon	..	..	C. 500 B.C.
8.	Kauṭilya	..	..	C. 300 B.C. to 100 A.D.
9.	Patañjali	..	..	C. 150 B.C.
10.	The Rāmāyaṇa, The Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛti			4th Cent. B.C. to 4th Cent. A.D.
11.	Baudh. Gr. Sesa Sūtra and Saṁhitā of Caraka.			After the Christian Era 1st or 2nd Cent. A.D.
12.	Kāśyapa Saṁhitā			
	Bhojanakalpa	..	..	2nd Cent. B.C.—C. 400 A.D.
	Khila Sthāna	..	..	300-400 A.D.
13.	Yājñavalkya Smṛti and Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra	..	..	100 A.D.—300 A.D.
14.	Bṛhaspati Smṛti	..	..	100—400 A.D.
15.	Suśruta Saṁhitā	..	..	C. 4th Cent. A.D.
16.	Āngavijjā	..	..	C. 4th Cent. A.D.
17.	Bower. MSS...	..	..	C. 3rd or 4th Cent. A.D.
18.	Vāyu and Viṣṇu Purāṇa	..	..	3rd or 4th Cent. A.D.
19.	Kāmasūtra	..	..	C. 450 A.D.
20.	Early Jain Canon	..	..	Before 5th Cent. A.D.
21.	Śabara	..	..	200—500 A.D.
22.	Laṅkāvatārasūtra	..	..	Prior to 443 A.D.
23.	Varāhamihira Bṛhatsaṁhitā	..	..	505—587 A.D.
24.	Kātyāyana Smṛti	..	..	400—600 A.D.
25.	Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha	..	..	C. 625 A.D.

26.	Yuan Chwang and Bāna's Harṣa-				
	carita and Kādambārī	..	..	606—648 A.D.	
27.	Kāśikā	..	..	662 A.D.	
28.	Raviṣeṇa-Padmā Purāṇa	..	..	678 A.D.	
29.	Itsing	..	..	671—695 A.D.	
30.	Vakpati-Gauḍavaho	..	..	725 A.D.	
31.	Kumārila-Tantravārtika	..	..	650—750 A.D.	
32.	Kāmandaka Nītiśāra	..	..	700—750 A.D.	
33.	Pauma Carī	..	..	677—760 A.D.	
34.	Kuṭṭanimatam	..	..	755—786 A.D.	
35.	Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu	..	..	Before 800 A.D.	
36.	Varāha Purāṇa	..	..	C. 800 A.D.	
37.	Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya	..	..	C. 850 A.D.	
38.	Skanda Purāṇa	..	..	600—900 A.D.	
39.	Later Smṛtiś	..	..	600—900 A.D.	
40.	Agni Purāṇa	..	..	800—900 A.D.	
41.	Rājaśekhara	..	..	C. 900 A.D.	
42.	Medhātithi on Manu	..	..	C. 900 A.D.	
43.	Nala Campu	..	..	915 A.D.	
44.	Yaśastilaka-Campu	..	..	959 A.D.	
45.	Vāmana Purāṇa	..	..	9th or 10th Cent. A.D.	
46.	Vṛṇda	..	..	9th or 10th Cent. A.D.	
47.	Nala—a writer on cookery	..	..	Before 1000 A.D.	
48.	Dhanapāla-Bhavisayattakahā	..	..	10th Cent. A.D.	
49.	Garuḍa Purāṇa	..	..	10th Cent. A.D.	
50.	Alberuni	..	..	973—1048 A.D.	
51.	Kṣīrasvāmī on the Amarakośa	..	..	1050 A.D.	
52.	Mitākṣarā on the Yājñavalkya Sm.	..	..	1070—1100 A.D.	
53.	Dalhana on Suśruta	..	..	C. 1100 A.D.	
54.	Kumārapāla carita	..	..	C. 1100 A.D.	
55.	Aparārka on Yāj. Smṛti	..	..	1125 A.D.	
56.	Someśvara-Mānasollāsa	..	..	1127 A.D.	
57.	Padma Purāṇa and Brahma Purāṇa	900—1200 A.D.	
58.	Naisadha carita	1150—1200	
59.	Sandesa Rāśaka	12th Cent.	

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